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THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY ORATIONS

THE
NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY ORATIONS

ADDRESSES SERMONS AND POEMS DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK 1820–1885

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY

CEPHAS BRAINERD

AND

EVELINE WARNER BRAINERD

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY

VOLUME I

NEW YORK

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THE DE VINNE PRESS

NOTE

THERE is a "natural piety" in the sentiment that moved a New Englander of the New Englanders, the senior editor of this collection, to preserve the Society addresses of his own day, and to seek with a scholar's instinct, and with loyalty to the region that bred him, for those printed in the earlier years of our time-honored league. The New England Society in the City of New York can point to no better estate, transmitted to it from the past century, than this of which the administration has devolved upon Mr. Cephas Brainerd and his daughter. To Miss Brainerd's zeal and ability these volumes owe their editorial supervision, Introduction, and biographical and other Notes preceding the respective addresses. Father and daughter alike are to be envied for their conjunction in a labor congenial to both; and the Society well may felicitate itself upon the result which now crowns the work.

The collection is in truth one that our members need not hesitate to set forth. The record and influence of the Society's annual celebrations are of no slight import; again and again these festivals have been among the memorable events of historic years. At present, when cyclopedias of oratory compete for favor, it is easy to overestimate the relative value of speeches on current themes,—

> "To give to dust that is a little gilt
> More laud than gilt o'er-dusted."

Through the dust of the past the true metal of the New England addresses warrants their preservation in authentic and dignified form. The granitic conviction of the early utterances now recalled was the basis upon which grew, from decade to decade, a hospitable structure, touched with beauty, warm with patriotism, inscribed with ancestral tradition but steadfastly open to increase of light.

Taken together, "The New England Society Orations," of the years embraced in this their first collection, form of themselves a class of forensic literature which no book-lover, especially if he be a member of the Society that it honors and illustrates, may not with satisfaction place upon his shelves.

EDMUND C. STEDMAN.

By Direction of the Board of Officers.

INTRODUCTION

THE annual celebrations on Forefathers' Day of the New England Society have always, save on a few special occasions, included a dinner, followed by speeches and the singing or recitation of original verses. Until 1820 there is little report of what took place at any except the first three of these yearly meetings. In 1819, however, the following preamble and resolution were put on record:

"Whereas his Excellency, the Governor of the State of New York, having recommended that the 22d day of December instant be celebrated by the people of this State as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and said day being the anniversary of this Society,

"Resolved that the celebration of the Society on that day be omitted."

The custom of preceding the dinner by a public oration seems then already established, for when the sermon of Dr. Spring was published, the Society asked Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Zechariah Lewis, the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, for their addresses also. No copies of these latter have been found, nor has most diligent search unearthed any trace of two later

discourses recorded as published by the Society—that of Bishop Wainwright in 1823, and that of Henry R. Storrs in 1834. Mr. Fessenden refused to give for publication his address of 1826. With these exceptions, the present collection of formal addresses, as noted in the Society's reports, is complete. Though some of the poems delivered before the Society were published, few have been preserved. Two of the earliest exist—the song written by Thomas Green Fessenden in 1805 for the first festival, and that written by Joseph Warren Brackett for the exercises of 1807. Grenville Mellen, Rev. Mr. Flint, Mr. Stone, then editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, and Mr. P. Hawes contributed verses for several celebrations, but there remain of these only Mr. Mellen's grave ode and Mr. Hawes's rollicking jingle to the tune of "Yankee Doodle." The ode by William Cullen Bryant and the verses by Dr. Pierpont are here printed with the orations of the same dates.

It was voted inexpedient to have an oration in 1859, and this long series of worthy celebrations closed with the speaker of two years before, Dr. Storrs. In 1870, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, the custom was revived and an address given by Ralph Waldo Emerson. At the unveiling in Central Park of Ward's statue of "The Puritan," the gift of the Society to the city, George William Curtis pronounced the oration.

With allowance for the personal element in each of these addresses, there may yet to some extent be traced

in them the development of national thought and experience. The earliest deal primarily with the religious aspect and influence of the Plymouth settlement. Later, notably in the paper by Dr. Bacon, the careful historical temper predominates. But the pressure of the hour more and more turned the speakers' thoughts from the deeds of the seventeenth century to the doings of their own time, to the contrasts between these two and the dangers lurking in change.

A mention of a menacing growth of ritualism and an allusion to a prevalent fear of the influence of Rome mark the time of two addresses. Mr. Webster's reiterated statement of confidence that all danger of dissolution of the Union had passed discloses the period of his utterances. One whisper of disquiet, however, sounds nearly throughout the entire series. Save in the fiery lines of the enthusiast, Dr. Pierpont, this is ever reserved, inclining now to the one, now to the other side of the question. But the thought of slavery could not be banished from addresses which were necessarily, whatever the taste or training of the individual speaker, national in character. The warnings against unrestricted emigration and the spoils system show that the lapse of fifty years has made surprisingly little change in some problems.

The estimate of the Pilgrims, varying in details, comes close to the position given them in later judgment. Their share in the founding of the nation, their intellectual and spiritual leadership, the force of their religious and political convictions, potent after many

of their tenets have passed from men's belief—on these points the speakers, themselves of differing creeds and differing environments, and all men holding by their worth commanding positions, spoke as one.

Appreciation of their courtesy is heartily accorded to the publishers of Mr. Choate's works, Messrs. Little, Brown & Co.; of Dr. Bushnell's, Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons; of Dr. Holmes's and Mr. Emerson's, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; and of Mr. Curtis's, Messrs. Harper and Brothers. The greater part of the addresses, however, have appeared only in the pamphlets issued by the Society, and peculiarities in spelling, use of capitals, and punctuation found therein have been generally retained as characteristic of period or writer.

E. W. B.

New York,
November, 1901.

CONTENTS

PAGE

WOOLSEY ROGERS HOPKINS 1
Beginnings of the New England Society of New York, 1884

GARDINER SPRING, D.D. 9
A Tribute to New England, 1820

Remarks on the Charges made by the Rev. Gardiner Spring, D.D., against the Religion and Morals of the People of Boston and its Vicinity, 1821 49

JOHN BRODERICK ROMEYN 73
The Duty and Reward of Honouring God, 1821

PHILIP MELANCTHON WHELPLEY 101
"The Memory of the Just is Blessed," 1822

SAMUEL L. KNAPP 141
Address, 1829

LEONARD BACON 165
Address, 1838

ROBERT C. WINTHROP 211
Address, 1839

CHARLES BRICKETT HADDUCK 261
The Elements of National Greatness, 1841

GEORGE B. CHEEVER 287
The Elements of National Greatness, 1842

RUFUS CHOATE 321
The Age of the Pilgrims the Heroic Period of our History, 1843

DANIEL WEBSTER 354
The Landing at Plymouth, 1843

GEORGE PERKINS MARSH 371
Address, 1844

CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM 417
The Spirit of the Day and its Lessons, 1846

BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

WOOLSEY ROGERS HOPKINS

BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

[*From the Magazine of American History for January, 1884, by permission of the publisher.*]

AS New England Societies are now a power in the land, it may entertain the readers of the Magazine of American History to learn something of the original organization of the first one of its kind in America —the New England Society of New York.

In 1805, when the metropolis was a much smaller and a very different city from the New York of to-day, James Watson, the first president of the New England Society, then a gentleman of leisure, culture, and hospitality, resided in a handsome old-time mansion in the shady and gently curved street bordering the Battery Park. He was much respected in his little world, was the intimate friend of General Samuel B. Webb, and of Trumbull, the famous artist, and many other persons of eminence. He died, however, in early middle life, and might have passed from the memory of man—as he left no kin—but for a beautiful portrait painted by his friend Trumbull, which hangs before me as I write these lines. We find him represented in the picture as a man of some forty well-rounded years, with a florid complexion, high forehead fringed by soft hair gathered back in a queue, beautiful eyes, a pleasing expres-

sion of countenance, and stylishly dressed in the coat of the period, with large old-fashioned ruffles escaping from the vest. At No. 7 State Street, in the mansion adjoining that of James Watson, resided Moses Rogers, of Connecticut birth and parentage, a merchant of the great firm of Woolsey & Rogers. His wife was Sarah Woolsey, sister of the wife of President Dwight of Yale College. At 68 Stone Street resided William Walton Woolsey (a brother of Mrs. Rogers), whose wife was a sister of President Dwight, and granddaughter of President Edwards. These gentlemen, together with Samuel M. Hopkins and several others, had been talking about establishing a New England Society, and had finally agreed to meet informally on a certain evening and give the project shape and permanent direction. On the morning of the day appointed, the occupants of the State Street houses, looking under the tall trees, saw a schooner luff up and flap her sails while a boat was lowered. A tall, fine-looking clerical gentleman stepped in, and a moment later the yawl grated on the beach, and the passenger, bag in one hand and a very baggy umbrella in the other, landed on the hard sand. Majestically he moved up the slight ascent, taking off his capacious cocked hat under the shade of perhaps the same oak that stretched its arms over the heads of Henry Hudson and his crew nearly two centuries before, and after standing a moment to enjoy the view, turned and crossed the velvety green square, directing his steps to the home of Moses Rogers. He was greeted by the lady of the mansion with "Welcome, Dr. Dwight; you are better than you promised!" He replied, "Yes; I had a quick passage, favored by wind and tide, and thus made the trip from New Haven in two days." His hostess inquired for "her sister and the children," and

congratulated him on being in time to attend the expected gathering in the evening, which had for its object, she explained, the formation of a new society, to be called the "New England Society."

President Dwight was much pleased, and advanced many useful suggestions concerning the proposed organization. The subject came up again and again during the day, as friends and relatives dropped in to greet the distinguished visitor. The meeting, when evening came, was held in James Watson's parlor, No. 6 State Street; a dozen or more earnest, thoughtful men gathered about the bright, sparkling wood fire. Samuel M. Hopkins, the first secretary of the Society, came from the upper part of Pearl Street, bringing a tin lantern in his hand. If we had seen him on his way we should have noted that he moved irresolutely, questioning whether he should pass the lower point of the Swamp, and up Fulton Street, so as to avoid high tide and wet feet at Cedar and Pine streets, or go through Chatham Street by the Tea Water Pump. He chose the latter route, and had a hard time struggling through the mire of the unpaved road, but reached Broadway finally, and, calling for Col. Trumbull, arrived in State Street at the hour named. Among others present were General Ebenezer Stevens, Samuel A. Lawrence, President Dwight, Moses Rogers, William Walton Woolsey, Oliver Wolcott, Francis Bayard Winthrop, then residing in Wall Street, and D. G. Hubbard. After some preliminary conversation, Nathaniel Prime was called to the chair and William Leffingwell appointed secretary. But little was accomplished on the occasion, except the formation of a committee to draft the constitution, a general discussion as to the principles which the document should embody, and an arrangement for a public meeting at the City Hotel on May 6, to consummate

the contemplated organization. In turning over the time-browned leaves of the precious original records, carefully preserved during the three fourths of a century since they were written (in a clear, beautiful hand), we read as follows:

"We whose names are herewith subscribed, convinced that it is the duty of all men to promote the happiness and welfare of each other, witnessing the advantages which have arisen from the voluntary associations of individuals, allied to each other by a similarity of habits and education, and being desirous of diffusing and extending the like benefits, do hereby associate ourselves under the name of the 'New England Society of the City and State of New York.'

"The objects of this Society are friendship, charity, and mutual assistance; and to promote these purposes we have formed and do assent to the following articles," and then follows: *Article 1st*, defining the titles and duties of the officers; *Article 2d*, stating that as soon as seventy persons, natives of New England and residing in the city of New York, shall have subscribed, they shall meet and elect officers; *Article 9th*, affirming that each member shall be a New England man by birth, or the son of a member; *Article 10th*, defining that, by a vote of two thirds, persons not having these qualifications may be admitted; *Article 11th*, explaining that by a two-thirds vote, given *viva voce* and entered on the minutes, a member may be suspended. No fear of responsibility, it seems. The present masked method of admitting and suspending by black balls was not known to these honorable gentlemen. *Article 12th*, states that this Society shall have no power to impose secrecy.

A brief extract from the minutes will inform the reader concerning the first public meeting:

"At a general meeting of the New England Society, held at the City Hotel on the 6th of May, 1805, Wm. Henderson was named chairman and Benj. M. Mumford secretary. The articles of association being read by the secretary, and it appearing to this meeting that the same had been subscribed by more than seventy persons, natives of the New England States, it was

"*Resolved*, To proceed to the election of officers according to the said articles; viz., president, two vice-presidents, four counsellors, and eight assistants; all upon one ticket; and on counting the ballots the following gentlemen appeared to have been elected.

"President—James Watson; Vice-Presidents—Ebenezer Stevens and Francis Bayard Winthrop; Board of Counsellors, Rufus King, Saml. Osgood, Abijah Hammond, Oliver Wolcott.

"Assistants — Moses Rogers, Wm. Lovett, Wm. Henderson, Wm. Leffingwell, Saml. Mansfield, Elisha Coit, John P. Mumford, and Gurdon S. Mumford." On the same day the board of officers met at the house of Gen. Ebenezer Stevens, and chose Jonathan Burrall treasurer, and Samuel M. Hopkins and Benj. M. Mumford secretaries. Henceforward the meetings were held at different places.

On May 17th, at Ross's Hotel, Broad Street, and on Dec. 6th, following, it was resolved "that Col. Trumbull be requested to form a certificate to be furnished to the members in testimony of their belonging to the Society." The first dinner was given Dec. 21, 1805, and the toasts were, "The City of Leyden," "John Carver," "John Winthrop," and "The Memory of Washington." The first volunteer toast was by Gen. Stevens, "Our President, James Watson, a man who is the delight of his friends and an honor to the Society over which he presides." A song was com-

posed for this occasion by Thomas Green Fessenden. At this and succeeding anniversary dinners, when the "Clergy of New England" was given as a toast, the music was invariably "Old Hundred." Other songs on various occasions were "Hail Columbia," "Yankee Doodle," "Roslyn Castle," and "Anacreon in Heaven." For some years the meetings were held at the Tontine Coffee House, at Barden's Long Room, Broad Street, and at Benjamin Butler's in Wall Street, but about 1812 the Society settled at Niblo's Bank Coffee House.

The charming old house where the first meeting was held is still standing. But architectural reformers entered it not very long since and now little remains of its original antiquarian elegance.

A TRIBUTE TO NEW ENGLAND

GARDINER SPRING, D.D.

1820

GARDINER SPRING

(1785-1873.)

Although he was a native of Newburyport, Massachusetts, and born in the last century, the life and work of Dr. Gardiner Spring belong to New York, and almost to this generation. In 1819 he entered on his sixty-three years of service in the Brick Church, a pastorate famous and widely influential.

The following address, given before the New England Society in 1820, contained strictures resented by the Unitarian hearers. It was the first of several of the anniversary speeches to occasion heated debate. This rather bitter controversy between the strict, and indeed harsh, Calvinist and the sensitive Unitarians, brought forth to-day from kindly oblivion, shows humorously and pitifully, as is often the fate of the transient when robbed of the dignity of its hour.

SERMON

Psalm cvii. 7.

And he led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a city of habitation.

I REJOICE, my friends, that, after so many memorials of the event we now celebrate, the time has arrived, when the Sons of the Pilgrims in this City, deem it a privilege publicly and in the house of prayer, to honour the only wise God, in their rehearsal of scenes, which so often drew tears from the eyes and praises from the lips of their pious progenitors. Two hundred years ago this day, our forefathers landed on the shores of this Western World. We cannot but feel, that this event deserves a grateful acknowledgment and commemoration. The ancient people of God, scattered as they had been in different portions of the globe, enslaved by one enemy after another, oppressed by difficulty and danger from every side, found no sweeter theme for their praise, than that eternal mercy to which they owed all their hopes, and that incessant guardianship which had so often interposed in miracles of mercy and judgment, to guide them to "a city of habitation." Their danger and their deliverance are exquisitely set forth by the Psalmist in the touching imagery of travellers lost in a pathless desert, wandering about this great wilderness world as "pilgrims

and strangers on the earth," but at last directed and conducted home. The way in which they are led is often dark and mysterious; but in the issue there is every thing to advance the praises of their guide and deliverer.

Nor can we at once advert to a series of events more illustrative of these sentiments, than the course in which a wise Providence conducted our ancestors. The first settlers of New-England were descended from a highly respectable class of men, who took their rise in England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and were called Puritans.[1] After the year 1662, when the famous Act of Uniformity was passed by the English Parliament, requiring a solemn declaration of assent to every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer, and the administration of the Sacraments, they were called Non-Conformists, and since that period they have been more commonly called Dissenters.

Europe was not without the expectation of a partial reform as early as the fourteenth century. Not far from this period, the authority and influence of the Roman Pontiffs began to decline; and in the fifteenth century, some attempts at reformation were, to say the least, the ostensible objects of two important Councils of the Latin Church.[2] No serious advance was made in this cause, until the shameless profligacy of

[1] The title *Puritans* appears originally to have been a term of reproach. Mr. Neal, in his history of these excellent men, remarks, "If a man maintained his steady adherence to the doctrines of Calvin and the Synod of Dort; if he kept the Sabbath and frequented sermons; if he maintained family religion, and would neither swear, nor be drunk, nor comply with the fashionable vices of the times; he was called a *Puritan*."

[2] The Council of *Constance* and the Council of *Basil*.

The *Council of Constance* was assembled by the Emperor *Sigismund*, in 1414; and after sitting three years and six months, was dissolved in April, 1418. The great design of this Council was to put an end to

the Popes, and the martyrdom of several distinguished witnesses [1] for the truth, together with the firmness and increase of the Lollards in England, and the Hussites on the Continent of Europe, had prepared the way for Martin Luther to enter upon a work, which was destined not only to suppress the preposterous pretensions of Papacy, but to give an effectual and salutary influence to the Church of God for centuries to come. This memorable REFORMATION was established in the sixteenth century. The principles of the Reformed Church, as adopted by Luther, were extensively received in different parts of Germany; found very powerful abettors in Switzerland, Geneva, France, and Sweden; and were introduced into England towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII, and during that of his successor, Edward VI. With the exception of the Eucharist, there was a happy agreement in the Reformed Churches on all the leading points of Christian theology; and with the exception of the Church of England, there was also a very general concurrence in the essential principles of Church government. A lingering attachment to the rites and ceremonies of the Latin Church, in several of the Monarchs and Bishops who took a leading part in the Reformation, and especially in Elizabeth, in whose reign the

the schism which arose in the fourteenth century in consequence of a collision of sentiment with regard to a successor to Gregory XI. A reformation of the Church, however, was one of the professed objects of this Council, though it was altogether defeated.

The *Council of Basil* was convened in 1431, under the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. This Council sat twelve years; and though a reformation was one of its professed objects, it met with very little encouragement.

[1] *John Huss* and *Jerome*, of Prague in Bohemia, were condemned and burnt alive by the Council of Constance. The same Council also condemned the opinions of *Wickliffe*, who has well been styled "the morning star of the Reformation," and passed sentence that his bones should be dug up and burnt with his writings.

Reformation was matured, operated as one of the causes in giving the Church of England its peculiar form of government. Among those, who manifested no small degree of zeal for the entire renunciation of the Popish ritual, and who earnestly contended for a purer reformation, both in discipline and ceremonies, were the Pilgrims of New-England. Neither Elizabeth nor James manifested any predilection for the views of the Puritans; but, on the other hand, became the advocates of a severe and rigorous uniformity, which obliged multitudes to resist the claims of the Establishment with a perseverance and decision of no bright augury either to their religious or civil tranquillity. Under the fairest and most sacred pretence, an effort was made, combining the power of Church and State, to impose and enforce restrictions upon the conscience, which well nigh proved the rock that severed the peace of England. Elizabeth was at heart averse to a pure reformation, and the enemy of the non-conformists; and James, though early inclined to favour their cause, and though no prince was ever more able so to favour it as to preserve the peace of the realm, was just pusillanimous and proud enough to become the mere creature of Prelacy, and from the professed advocate of religious liberty, to avow himself its implacable foe.

Toward the latter part of James's reign, it became obvious that the Puritans could not remain with safety in England; and a little company from one of the Northern Counties, composed principally of the Church under the pastoral care of the Rev. Richard Clifton, and his successor the Rev. John Robinson, contemplated a removal to Holland, which was effected in the year 1607. After residing some time at Amsterdam, they removed to Leyden, where the kindness

and hospitality of the generous Hollanders was conspicuous, and will ever be cherished in grateful remembrance. But notwithstanding the security and peace which this retirement afforded them from the bitterness of persecution, their condition in Holland was not without difficulties of a very serious kind. The labour of becoming familiar with a strange language—the hardships necessary to a bare subsistence—the exposure of the rising generation to the dissipation, immoralities, and profligacy of a populous city—together with the faint prospect of perpetuating a Church which they believed to be constituted upon the model of apostolical simplicity,[1] led them to direct their thoughts toward the New World.

It could not but be foreseen that their removal to America would be accompanied with the severest danger and deepest self-denial. They were about to spread their sails on a boisterous ocean, and under inclement skies to direct their course to an inhospitable clime. After much consultation, and several seasons of special prayer for the divine direction and blessing upon their enterprise, they left Holland for England in July, 1620, and having made suitable preparations for the voyage,

[1] The Puritans appear to have maintained a sort of Church government which was not strictly Presbyterian or Congregational; but which retained some of the principles of both. They believed,

"That every particular Church of Christ is only to consist of such as appear to believe in and obey him—

"That they have a right to embody themselves into a Church by contract or covenant—

"That being thus embodied, they have the right of choosing their own officers, which are of three sorts, *Pastors*, or *Teaching Elders*, *Ruling Elders*, and *Deacons*—

"That these officers, being chosen and ordained, have no lordly, arbitrary, or imposing power, but can only rule and minister with the consent of the brethren." *Prince's Chronology*, vol. i. p. 92.

Prince, in his New-England Chronology, *complains* of the charge that Mr. Robinson and his followers were *Brownists*. Vide vol. i. p. 81.

embarked for America on the 5th of August, of the same year, the whole number of adventurers being about one hundred and twenty.[1] After having been obliged, by the badness of the weather and the unsoundness of one of their ships, to return twice into port, they at length survived a tedious passage of suffering and hazard; reached the harbour of Cape Cod on the 11th of November; about the middle of December arrived opposite the town of Plymouth, and on the 22d of the same month, landed on the memorable rock so famed in the history of the Pilgrims of New-England.

Their condition on landing was such as to call for the peculiar benignity of a superintending Providence. Without the limits of their patent[2]—enfeebled and sickly through the length and hardships of their voyage—without shelter and without friends—before them a wide region of solitude and savageness—they were compelled to pitch their tents between the howlings of the forest and the storm of the ocean, and spend a dreary season in burying their dead, and thinking of their homes. Like the Pilgrims of other times, "they wandered in the wilderness in a solitary way; they found no city to dwell in." Notwithstanding the rigour of the climate, and the severities of a disease which had cut off nearly one half of the colony, very conspicuous were the divine guardianship and munifi-

[1] The *Rev. Mr. Robinson* never himself removed to New-England. It was his intention to follow his congregation; but he died March 1, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age, and at the summit of his usefulness. His widow and children afterwards removed to Plymouth.

[2] Their design was to make a settlement on *Hudson River*, or in the adjacent country. For this they had obtained a patent: but they were carried beyond the precincts of the territory which had been granted to them, and were prevented from altering their course by the inclemency of the season. *Robertson's History of America.*

cence toward these pious men.[1] Not only was their arrival beyond the limits of their charter a favourable disappointment, but large numbers of the natives had been swept off by a pestilence which raged the preceding year; so that it was not only less difficult to repel their invasions, but more easy to obtain the means of a comfortable subsistence, and to form such alliances as proved salutary to the colony for many years to come.[2]

Such was the prosperity of the Plymouth colony, that large bodies of pious people in England began to make preparations for settlements among their brethren in the West. Not only were the causes of their dissatisfaction by no means removed at home, but additional considerations began now to influence the English government to increase the facilities of removing abroad. In the year 1628, a patent was granted to a company of knights, covering a large portion of Mas-

[1] "A combination of circumstances, singularly providential, is observable in the settlement and preservation of these pious pilgrims in New-England. On Hudson's River and its vicinity, the Indians were numerous, and had they not been disappointed with respect to their original design, probably they would have fallen a prey to savage cruelty. In New-England, Providence had prepared the way for their settlement. The uncommon mortality in 1617, had in a manner depopulated that part of the country in which they began their plantation. They found fields which had been planted, without owners, and a fine country round them, in some measure cultivated, without an inhabitant. The winter broke up sooner than usual; and early in the season, they entered into a perpetual league of friendship, commerce, and mutual defence with the Indians." *Trumbull's General History of the United States*, vol. i.

[2] The first Governor of Plymouth colony, was Mr. *John Carver*. He was among the emigrants to Leyden, who composed Mr. Robinson's Church in that place. He was unanimously elected to this office by the colony, after their arrival in Plymouth harbour, and before they went on shore. He died on the 5th of April following, greatly lamented by the infant colony. *Prince's Chronolog. Hist. of New-England.*

sachusetts, which resulted in establishments at Salem, Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Watertown, and Roxbury. In March, 1631, a plan was set on foot for establishing a colony on Connecticut River; and in the prosecution of this design, several families removed from Dorchester, Cambridge, and Watertown, and commenced settlements at Windsor, Hartford, and Weathersfield. In November, 1635, Mr. John Winthrop, agent for Lords Say, Seal, and Brook, to whom the Connecticut patent had been granted in 1631, arrived at the mouth of the river, built a fort, and commenced an establishment at Saybrook; in April, 1638, a company from England commenced an establishment at New-Haven; and in the same year, a branch of the Plymouth colony began a settlement in Providence, Rhode-Island.[1] Thus in less than twenty years from the first arrival at Plymouth, were the New-England colonies established, and in the enjoyment of a regular and prosperous government, and amid all the anticipations of a flourishing empire. In this short period, a world that had been little else than the resort of beasts of prey, was turned into fruitful fields and pleasant habitations; and a forest that had swarmed with savage men became peopled with the sons of the Most High.

Such is the way in which the God of our fathers led forth the Pilgrims of New-England. "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us what work thou didst in times of old; how thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them; how thou didst afflict the people and cast them out." As the difficulties which obstructed the course of our ancestors, seemed to demand no common inter-

[1] Vide Trumbull's History of Connecticut, and Trumbull's History of the United States.

positions of favour; so did the God of nations seem to "give his angels charge over them to keep them in all their ways." When difficulties and darkness perplexed them, he "sent out his light and his truth that they might lead them:" When they were hemmed in by enemies, he opened a passage for them through the sea: When they "wandered in the wilderness where there was no water," he "brought water out of the rock," and rained down manna for them out of heaven. "He found them in a desert land, in a waste howling wilderness; he led them about; he instructed them; he kept them as the apple of his eye. As an eagle stirreth up her nest—fluttereth over her young —spreadeth abroad her wings—taketh them—beareth them on her wings; so the Lord alone did lead them, and there was no strange god with them."

A sensible writer on the uses of history, remarks, that "History tends to strengthen the sentiments of virtue, by the variety of views in which it exhibits the conduct of Divine Providence, and points out the hand of God in the affairs of men." I do not see how any man can deny the agency of the Supreme, in upholding and directing all things, who considers the supremacy he exercises "in increasing the nations and enlarging them; in enlarging the nations and straitening them again." How obvious to the most superficial observer, that the whole course of our venerable forefathers was the result of the divine purpose, lay under the divine inspection, and was directed by a divine and omnipotent hand. There was no slumber to his eye, no intermission to his agency and care. There was nothing fortuitous in any one occurrence connected with this humble, yet magnificent enterprise. Events, which a superficial observer would have been tempted to pronounce unimportant and acci-

dental, flowed from design, and in the issue were seen to be invested with real importance.

But what we design to bring into view in this part of our subject, is, that this enterprise was under the guidance of a Providence not only particular and constant, but singularly wise. The settlement of New-England was designed to have a very important influence on the character, prospects, and usefulness of the American nation. I speak not of that hardihood and enterprise, which distinguishes the physical character of New-England, and which is felt in different parts of the land to the present period; but of the operation of those moral causes which have acted so powerfully, not only on their own immediate descendants, but on this risen and extended empire. You will allow me, then,

In the first place, to call your attention to the influence of this event on religious liberty. It was not until lately, that even in Protestant countries, the spirit of intolerance in matters of religion was deemed no constituent part either of good government or vital godliness. When we consider what human nature is, and what the world has seen, we may well suppose, that this was not a lesson to be learned at once. From the age of Saul of Tarsus down to the oppressions of Archbishop Laud, the visible Church has contained within her own bosom men, who under the specious pretext of zeal for the truth, have disregarded and trampled under foot the most sacred and important rights of man. The Reformation did much to weaken prejudices, which were founded in ignorance and superstition, and to advance and establish the principles of religious liberty; but the rights of man, as a moral being—as a creature bound by the laws of Jesus Christ, were not in a good degree understood, until the catas-

trophe of the scene, which was exhibited in the days of James and Charles, and which issued in the expulsion of the Pilgrims of New-England. The contest of the Puritans was one into which they were drawn with reluctance, and was a contest for principle. It was not so much their opposition to ecclesiastical establishments, or their inveteracy toward the Church of England, but their love of "pure and undefiled religion," and their purpose to enjoy it, that constrained them to leave their native shores. To adopt the language of what may with no impropriety be called their own manifesto,—"That the inspired Scriptures contain the true religion—that nothing is to be accounted the Protestant religion, respecting either faith or worship, but what is taught in them—that every man has the right of judging for himself, of trying doctrines by them, and of worshipping according to his apprehension of the meaning of them" [1]—these were the sentiments, which inspired them with so much self-denial and intrepidity; and which, notwithstanding their comparative weakness, they resolved, under God, should never be renounced.

In those countries where the principles of religious toleration have acquired their maturity, the constitution and laws smile with equal favour and protection on all sects and denominations. If the law of the land lay me under no restriction, as to the doctrines I shall believe and the duties I shall practise; if in the form of my worship they leave me to the dictates of my own conscience, and to my present and eternal responsibilities; I surely enjoy all the religious liberty, which an honest man can desire. I will not ask that my opinions should escape the ordeal of severe discussion, or that my conduct should be exempt from

[1] Prince's New-England Chronology, p. 91.

scrutiny and censure, where it deviates from the line of rectitude; I will not plead for that "magnanimous liberality" which exults in indifference to all opinions, and which is satisfied only with contempt of the truth: nor will I complain of the vigilance and fidelity with which the constituted authorities of the Church throw the shield of her maternal discipline around "the faith once delivered to the saints." And if, on the other hand, I may be allowed a candid examination of the sentiments of others; if I may disapprove and censure what in my judgment demands censure and disapprobation: and if, in the enjoyment of these rights, no sect or persuasion can claim any preëminence, except what it derives from the validity and excellence of its principles, what is this but religious liberty? We are not insensible that there are those who "complain that they have no religious liberty, unless they have liberty to have no religion at all." It is somewhat amusing to see what impatience of contradiction, and what a morbid sensibility some men discover to every thing that looks like a discussion of their favourite creed; and if we, my friends, have not become the abettors of this bigoted liberality, we owe much to the decision of our forefathers. With honest exultation, be it said, there is no spot on the globe where the rights of conscience are more sacredly revered than in New-England. There every man thinks for himself on subjects of the greatest moment. The spirit of discussion and inquiry is encouraged to an extent almost without a parallel; and if the Church had been as watchful in the exercise of a vigorous discipline on the one hand, as the State has been in guarding the rights of private judgment on the other, the benefits of this spirit would have been extended with fewer of its evils. I am well aware that liberty of conscience is

one of those things which is easily abused; but when I consider the mischiefs, which an intolerant spirit has spread through the earth, the groans with which it has filled all Europe, and the rivers of blood it has shed, I feel grateful to a good Providence that I am a descendant of the Pilgrims. I ask no man to relinquish his opinions because they differ from mine, unless I can show him that they differ from the Bible. What I give, I claim; and what I claim, is the privilege of all. Painful as it was, the struggle of our fathers was not in vain. It will not soon be forgotten in Britain, that the Dissenting interest once had the ascendancy over the Establishment,[1] and that when royal oppression and ecclesiastical violence combined to bring in arbitrary power, both the Prince and the Prelate were brought to the block. That the American States have not been so slow to learn, is in no small degree owing to the high sense which our fathers cherished of the rights of conscience. It is now an unquestioned axiom, that religious freedom is the sacred and inviolable right of every man. It is no longer disputed that a man may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and be notwithstanding entitled to the protection of the laws, and to all the immunities of a citizen. And what Christian, what patriot, but will rejoice that this most important principle has been so highly esteemed and so jealously guarded by the American people, that it holds a prominent place, not only in the several State Constitutions, but in the great bond of our National Confederation? Ever since the establishment of the Plymouth colony,

[1] The writer does not mean to say, the *Dissenting* interest was ever formally established by the English government; but that it had the popular ascendancy. In the latter part of the reign of Charles I, and until the restoration of Charles II, it actually exercised a predominant influence.

the Western World has in this respect been unfolding a splendid and consoling prospect. At no period for these last two hundred years, has the afflicted Church from any quarter of the globe looked in vain for a secure retreat, or the daughter of Zion been denied an inviolable asylum.

There is a second point of view in which the colonization of New-England may be considered very important; and that is, the influence of this event on American literature. Piety may be fraught with the most benevolent desires, and in retired spheres of action may mature and carry into effect the most beneficent designs; but piety without learning, in a more extended province, accomplishes little, either for the honour of God, or the benefit of mankind. "Through wisdom an house is builded, and by understanding it is established." Lock up the treasures of knowledge from the great mass of the community, and you doom them to a condition of intellectual meanness and poverty, at no great remove from "the horse and the mule which have no understanding." Few have more sacredly felt the importance of the general diffusion of learning and science, than our forefathers. A very respectable writer of our own country has remarked, "that it might be expected the colonists of New-England would be most early and zealous in their attention to literature. Their character both for learning and piety, and the circumstances attending their establishment, were a sufficient pledge of their disposition to promote the interests of knowledge, which they well knew to be one of the most important pillars of the Church as well as the State." [1] It is no partial or extravagant representation to say, that they were men of vigorous talent, enlarged views, and uncommon

[1] Miller's Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century.

learning.[1] America has not seen a more manly and gigantic race than that which took possession of this western wilderness during the first century after the landing at Plymouth. There are not wanting at the present day, illustrious specimens of their native acuteness and patient research, which would reflect honour on any age, and which will long preserve the American name from oblivion. In vain will New-England now look for a Cotton, Hooker, Davenport, Mather, Mayhew, Norton, Oaks, Prince, Cutler, and Dickinson.[2] Nor were her worthies confined to any one class of

[1] There is a very interesting fact related by Prince, in his New-England Chronology, which redounds much to the honour of the Rev. Mr. Robinson, the patriarch of the Plymouth colony. Soon after the Curators of the University of Leyden had invited Simon Episcopius, a professed Arminian, to the divinity chair in that institution, an event deeply deplored by the Churches, and especially by Polyander, the Calvinistic professor, Episcopius published several Arminian Theses, which he engaged to defend against all opposers. Mr. Robinson, being earnestly requested by Polyander and the divines of the city to accept the challenge, consented to enter the lists with Episcopius, and completely foiled him, not merely once, but a second or third time, in the presence of a numerous and learned assembly. *Prince's New-England Chronology*, p. 38.

[2] The Rev. John Cotton came to this country in 1633, and was settled in Boston as colleague with the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the first minister in that place. While in England, he was chosen head lecturer in Emmanuel College; and became subsequently an instructor of young men designed for the ministry, some of whom were from Germany and Holland. He was a distinguished critic in the Greek and Latin languages, and conversed with some facility in the Hebrew.

The Rev. Thomas Hooker came to New-England in company with Mr. Cotton. He was first settled at Cambridge, and afterwards at Hartford. A very competent judge once said of him, that "he never met with Mr. Hooker's equal, either in preaching or disputation."

The Rev. John Davenport was the first minister of New-Haven, and one of the founders of that colony. He was an universal scholar, and held the first rank as a preacher. The late Dr. Dwight used to remark, that Mr. Davenport did more than any other man to form the character of Connecticut. Such was the reputation of the abovementioned three

men. The names of Winthrop, Eaton, Hopkins, Wolcott, and Prince, among her laity, will long be remembered as the enlightened and distinguished patrons

gentlemen, that they received a pressing invitation to go over to England and assist in the deliberations of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

Dr. Increase Mather was a native of New-England, and a graduate of Harvard College, of which he received the Presidency in 1685.

Dr. Cotton Mather was a native of Boston, and one of its first and best ministers. He was a man of vast learning, and his industry was even proverbial. It is said of him, "that no person in America had so large a library, or had read so many books, or retained so much of what he read." He was familiar with the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish, and Iroquois languages.

There were four Mayhews, men of eminence and usefulness,—Thomas, John, Experience, and Jonathan,—all lineally descended from Governor Mayhew, of Martha's Vineyard; of whom the first three, together with their ancestor, were distinguished for zeal to promote the Gospel among the Indians.

The Rev. John Norton came over to this country in company with Governor Winslow, in 1635. He was early settled at Boston, and afterwards at Ipswich, and afterwards again established at Boston. After the restoration of Charles II, Mr. Norton was one of the agents of Massachusetts appointed to go over to England to obtain the confirmation of their charter. He was an eminent scholar and divine. One of his friends used frequently to walk from Ipswich to Boston, a distance of thirty miles, to attend the Thursday Lecture, and would say, "that it was worth a great journey to unite in one of Mr. Norton's prayers."

The Rev. Urian Oaks was a native of England, but was educated at Harvard College, and became the President of that institution in 1680. He excelled equally as a scholar, as a divine, and as a Christian. By his contemporaries, he was considered as one of the most resplendent lights that ever shone in this part of the world.

The Rev. Thomas Prince was the son of Thomas Prince, the Governor of Plymouth colony. He was colleague with Dr. Sewall in the Old South Church in Boston. In the opinion of Dr. Chauncy, no man in New-England had more learning, except Cotton Mather.

The Rev. Timothy Cutler, D. D. was a native of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and was inducted to the Presidency of Yale College in 1719. He was particularly distinguished for his acquaintance with oriental literature.

The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson was a native of Connecticut, and first President of New-Jersey College. He was a man of learning, of distinguished talents, and much celebrated as a preacher.

of American literature.[1] Such were the men who made those exemplary and benevolent efforts for the foundation and maintenance of those literary institutions, which have exerted so commanding an influence on the American character, which are felt to the remote limits of the Union, and which have given this youthful Republic a superiority and elevation above many of the older nations of the earth.

Anxiously attentive to the general diffusion of science, our forefathers laid the basis of their exertions in the extended establishment of common schools. It was as much a point of conscience with them, and it entered as really into all their plans of colonization, to furnish their posterity with the means of intellectual advancement, as to provide them with the means of daily and comfortable subsistence.[2] Nor may it be

[1] The Hon. John Winthrop was one of the company which arrived at Salem in 1630. He was the first Governor of Massachusetts.

The Hon. Theophilus Eaton accompanied Mr. Davenport to New-England in 1637, and was the first Governor of New-Haven colony.

The Hon. Edward Hopkins was also in the same company with Mr. Davenport. He was one of the Governors of Connecticut, a benefactor of Harvard College, and the founder of a grammar school both at New-Haven and Hartford.

The Hon. Roger Wolcott, a native of Windsor, and Governor of Connecticut.

The Hon. Thomas Prince was a native of England, and arrived at Plymouth in 1621. He was chosen Governor of the colony in 1634. He was not only distinguished as a man of great worth and piety, but as the advocate and patron of learning. He was the firm supporter of a learned and regular ministry, in opposition to lay preachers. By his decision in procuring revenues for the support of grammar schools, he rendered himself obnoxious to the clamours of the populace; but was entitled to the praise of being the founder of public schools. Vide *Mather's Magnalia*, and *Allen's Biographical Dictionary*.

[2] In 1641, the Massachusetts colony enacted, that "If any do not teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them to read perfectly the English language, they shall forfeit twenty shillings." Not long afterwards, a law was made, that when any town increased to the number of one hundred families, they should set up a grammar school, the master thereof be-

denied, that in consequence of the high estimation in which they held this plan of instruction, common schools have been set upon a more respectable footing, and cherished with a more paternal regard, in New-England, than in any other portion of the globe, if we except perhaps Scotland. Beside their attention to common schools, our ancestors also laid the foundation of those higher seminaries of learning which have been justly considered among the brightest ornaments of the land.[1] "Accordingly, during the greater part of the seventeenth century, the literature of the American colonies was in a great measure confined to New-England." For a series of years, New-England had the almost exclusive incumbency of the various seats of American learning; and even now, with some very honourable exceptions,[2] she furnishes the largest part of the teachers of our schools, the preceptors of our academies, and the Presidents and Professors of our Colleges and Universities. It is no enviable task to institute a comparison between this and other sections of our country, but I believe it will be found upon examination that New-England has had her full share of authors in moral, physical, and political science, and those too of no disreputable character.

The style of education is a subject to which our ancestors paid early and particular attention. That New-

ing able to instruct youth, so far as that they may be fitted for the University. *Miller's Retrospect.*

[1] The different Colleges of New-England are:—Harvard College, or the University of Cambridge—this is the oldest institution of the kind in North America, and was founded in 1638; Yale College, first established in 1700, and incorporated in 1701; Rhode-Island College, which received its charter in 1764; Dartmouth College, incorporated in 1769; Williams College, incorporated in 1793; Bowden College, instituted in 1794; Middlebury College, founded in 1800; and the University of Vermont.

[2] The College of New-Jersey, founded in 1746, enrols among her alumni some of the most distinguished men of our country.

England has generally excelled the Southern and Middle States in the study of Oriental Literature, and in mathematical and metaphysical science, is to be attributed to the high estimation in which the first colonists held the severer studies, and the consequent influence of this predilection upon her literary institutions. In the estimation of our forefathers, religion excepted, nothing countervailed the weight, and dignity, and usefulness of a solid education. "Wisdom and knowledge, and strength of salvation, were the stability of their times." Nor have the grand pillars which then supported the fair fabric of public and individual welfare, though they have been subject to some decay, lost their original strength and beauty. The benign influence of learning has been widely diffused; and if some of it has become vitiated, and much of it superficial, it is no longer confined to the higher orders of men, but pervades very considerable portions of the community. Our infancy as a nation, our habits as a large commercial people, sedulously intent on gain rather than the pursuits of learning and science, together with the want of leisure and patronage, have operated as serious discouragements to men of letters; but notwithstanding these, the field of literature is still extending, while there is no diminution of that ardent and inquisitive spirit which prompts to indefatigable, and patient, and bold excursions. Thanks to the God of our ancestors, that we are not dragging out our existence in the dark regions of sottishness and barbarism. Let any man compare the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, with their ignorant and barbarous cotemporaries; let him look at Europe since the revival of letters in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and compare it with the ignorance of the tenth and eleventh centuries; let him survey the

present condition of Britain, Germany, and the United States, and contrast it with that of Africa, Russia, and Hindostan; let him seriously advert to the influence of learning and science on the human character, and appreciate the distinctions it has made among nations and individuals; and he will discover the wisdom of Divine Providence in the early settlement of New-England.

But let us, in the third place, contemplate this event in a still more important attitude:—its operation on the extension and influence of the gospel. Most, if not all ecclesiastical historians, who have written since the commencement of the sixteenth century, have not failed to take notice of the discovery of America, as an event, pregnant with interesting results to the Church of God. President Edwards, in his History of Redemption, remarks, that "we may well look upon the discovery of so great a part of the world as America, and bringing the Gospel into it, as one thing by which Divine Providence is preparing the way for those glorious times, when Satan's kingdom shall be overthrown throughout the whole habitable globe." But, if the discovery of the New World is an event of so much moment in the progress of the great redemption; if America has been reserved as the theatre of scenes, which in their progressive development are to hold an important place in the illustration of the Redeemer's glory; it cannot be difficult for us to feel the sentiment, that one of the earliest of these favourable indications was the migration of the Pilgrims of Leyden to this western wilderness.

Until that memorable day on which our forefathers landed at Plymouth, the Sun of Righteousness had never penetrated the dark climes of New-England. Sixteen centuries had passed away since the blood

of propitiation was shed, and this vast continent, comprising a large part of the earth, remained in the undisturbed possession of the "god of this world." Here, the "dark places of the earth were filled with habitations of cruelty." It was a bleak, dreary abode, resembling the "region of the shadow of death," where millions were groping "without God and without hope in the world." [1] It was the great empire of heathenism. My friends, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God." On the spot where you and I have enjoyed so many of the divine mercies, and beheld so much of the divine glory, the "dwellers in this wilderness" once made their children to pass through the fire unto Moloch. How long the prince of darkness would have quietly

[1] The leading tribes of Indians that inhabited New-England at this time, were,

1. The Pequots, or Pequods, a very warlike and potent people, who were scattered over Connecticut. Old Indians relate that in former times they could raise four thousand men fit for war.

2. The Narragansits, inhabiting Narragansit Bay. They were a great people, and once able to arm more than five thousand men.

3. The Pawkunnawkutts, living to the East and North-East of the Narragansits, and scattered over the Plymouth colony. They originally consisted of about three thousand armed men, but were swept off in great numbers by a pestilence which prevailed in 1612 and 1613.

4. The Massachusetts, inhabiting about Massachusetts Bay. This tribe was about as large as the Pawkunnawkutts, and shared the same fate from the epidemic in 1613.

5. The Pawtuckets, lying on the North and North-East of the Massachusetts, about as large a tribe, but almost totally destroyed by the great sickness.

Beside these, there were the inland Indians,—the Maquas or Mawhawks, the Massawomeks, the Canada Indians, the Kennebeck Indians, and other tribes in the District of Maine and on Long-Island.

Their religion was like the religion of other Gentiles. Some as their god, adored the sun; others, the moon; some, the earth; others, the fire, &c. &c. The prominent characteristics of their worship were obscenity and blood. Vide *Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians in New-England.* A copy of this work will be found in the library of the New-York Historical Society.

enjoyed his dominion, no mind can conjecture, unless God in his holy providence had raised up just such a race of men as our progenitors, to disseminate the glorious Gospel in these ungenial climes. The Pilgrims of New-England were men who had pity on the heathen. Their spirit was the spirit of missions. They gloried in the prospect of planting Churches, and propagating a heaven-born religion. It was this that mitigated the horrors of their persecution at home, and that inspirited them with so much patience and heroism abroad. Among the early settlers of New-England, you not only find the Mayhews, but others of a kindred, if not a superior spirit. Elliott, that famed "apostle of the Indians," was one of the chosen band that followed up the first colony;[1] and Bourn, Treat, Sergeant, Edwards, Brainerd, and Hawley,[2] soon became either coadjutors or successors in the

[1] The Rev. John Elliott, minister of Roxbury, Massachusetts, came to this country eleven years after the landing at Plymouth. He was intensely devoted to the work of evangelizing the Indians. He published the New Testament in the Indian language, and in a few years the whole Bible, and several other books. He established schools and Churches among them with great success; and, after a life indefatigably devoted to this cause, died in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

[2] The Rev. Richard Bourn was one of the first emigrants from England, who settled at Sandwich. He was pastor of an Indian Church at Marshpee, which was composed of his own converts, and which was constituted by Elliott and Cotton. He is deserving of honourable remembrance as a faithful and devoted missionary.

The Rev. Samuel Treat was the first minister of Eastham, Massachusetts, and devoted much of his time and attention to the Indians. He had under him four Indian teachers, who read in separate villages on every Sabbath, excepting every fourth, when he himself preached the sermons which he prepared for them in their own language.

The Rev. John Sergeant was a native of Newark, New-Jersey, and was a most faithful servant of Jesus Christ among the Houssatonnoc, or Stockbridge Indians. He was succeeded by the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, to all whose excellencies as a scholar and a divine, we may add the labours of six years as a missionary.

work. The prosperity of their labours was almost without a parallel. The darkness, the thick darkness, which covered the people, began to flee away.[1] Yes, it has gone—and now, what do we see? An army of ministers—a world of Bibles—I had almost said, a continent of Churches, where, two hundred years ago, not a solitary missionary of the cross had ever trodden the desert, not a Bible had blessed the cell of the savage, not a Church had lifted its spire amid the trees of the forest. The war-whoop has ceased, and the angel "having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth," in his flight over this New World has proclaimed, "Glory to God in the highest; peace on earth, and good will to men."

The spirit of evangelizing their fellow-men did not soon forsake the bosom of our fathers, nor has it left the bosom of their children. It has lived from generation to generation; it has diffused its blessings; it has marked the course of the Pilgrims wherever they have gone. Let any man sit down to the sober cal-

The labours of David Brainerd are fresh in the recollection of every friend of missions.

Gideon Hawley also is a name that ought not be forgotten. He commenced his missionary labours at Stockbridge; thence made an excursion to the Mohawks; thence to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras; thence to the Six Nations on the Susquehanna river, devoting more than half a century in benevolent exertion to promote the salvation of the heathen.

The Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, D.D. while a minister at Lebanon, Connecticut, established an Indian school, where a number of Indian youth were educated as missionaries. This establishment resulted in the foundation of Dartmouth College, of which Dr. Wheelock was the first President.

[1] Previous to the death of the venerable Mayhew, about two-thirds of the inhabitants on Martha's Vineyard were reckoned as "praying Indians." There were thirty *Indian ministers.* In 1634, there were fourteen towns within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts colony, inhabited by these evangelized heathen.

For the substance of the information on this and the preceding page, vide *Gookin's Collections, Allen's Biographical Dictionary,* and the *London Missionary Register.*

culation, and he will be convinced that a full share of the exertion which has been made by the American Churches, with the view of bringing back this lost and guilty world to God, may be attributed to the descendants of New-England. Not a few of those benevolent designs which have poured their blessings on mankind during the last century, and which have increased in number and become magnified in importance within the last thirty years, were originated and brought to maturity, and have been preserved in progressive advancement by the same active and persevering class of men. New-England has been scattering her sons and her daughters, in untold numbers and rapid succession, over this fertile continent; and wherever they have been dispersed, the "wilderness has blossomed as the rose, and the desert has become as the garden of the Lord."

While on this part of my subject, a thought occurs to which I wish it were in my power to impart all the importance and urgency it demands. Our ancestors were men who were not ashamed of their dependence on the immediate and omnipotent influences of the Holy Spirit. They preached, they acted as though the motto of their every enterprise was, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." They took great pains to bring forward, in the personality and divinity of his nature, and the efficiency and glory of his office, that Almighty Agent, who is commissioned in the method of redemption, to make "the gospel the power of God unto salvation." Their best adapted, their most self-denying, their most vigorous exertions, they saw and felt were absolutely dependent on the Holy Ghost. And it is this thought that sunk them so often on their knees; that excited such ardent and irrepressible desire for the salvation

of men; that roused the spirit of confident and intrepid exertion, and that inspired their bosoms with the all-conquering sentiment, confidence in God. They were men whose hearts were set on revivals of religion. Their Churches were early in the habit of looking up to God for the effusions of his Holy Spirit, and of setting apart seasons of prayer for this most desirable and important blessing. And many were the seasons of the outpouring of his Holy Spirit upon that favoured land. Very early after the establishment of these infant settlements, the presence of God was wonderfully manifested in the years 1629, 1630, and 1637; and, in allusion to these seasons of mercy, one of them says, "In those days God, even our own God, did bless New-England." [1] In the year 1680, there was a general revival of religion in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut.[2] About the year 1705, very remarkable were the visitations of redeeming grace to a portion of the Massachusetts colony.[3] In 1679, 1683, 1696, 1712, 1718, and 1721, the blessing of God descended in a remarkable manner upon some of the Churches in the interior of Massachusetts and Connecticut.[4] In 1727, after the great earthquake throughout New-England, there was a very general, deep, and saving impression upon the minds of multitudes in different parts of the country.[5] In 1734, there was a general revival of religion in Northampton, which extended to several towns in the county, and also to others in Connecticut.[6] About the year 1740, the Spirit of God attended the ministrations of the Rev. George Whitefield, in different parts of New-

[1] Gillie's Historical Collections, vol. i.
[2] Ibid. vol. ii.
[3] Ibid. vol. ii.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Vide Preface to the third edition of Edwards's Narrative, by Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince, and others.
[6] Edwards's Narrative.

England and America; and the same influence also accompanied the labours of the Rev. William Tennent.[1] From the year 1740 to 1745, there was a signal manifestation of Divine power, grace, and mercy, which ought never to be brought into view without sentiments of sacred wonder and praise. Upwards of one hundred and twenty ministers, and sixty-eight in convention, bore public testimony of their firm persuasion in the power, reality, and genuineness of this work; and, at the close of their memorable attestation, say, "And now we desire to bow the knee in thanksgiving to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that our eyes have seen, and our ears heard such things." [2]

The early days of New-England, my friends, were not days when revivals of religion were reproached as the reveries of deluded fanatics, or the effect of priestcraft and ecclesiastical policy; nor when good men stood aloof from them, because they were apprehensive that they savoured more of extravagance than solid piety. No—they were not satisfied without them. And it was for such scenes of mercy that a benignant Providence directed their course to this new world. For two hundred years New-England has been blessed with the effusions of the Spirit above any other section of our country, and these American Churches above any other section of the earth. The unction has been preserved and diffused. Different sections of the continent have been the theatre of these wonders; and it appears to us, that one grand design of the colonization of the Pilgrims was, that the work of redemption should ultimately be carried forward on the largest scale in the western world.

[1] Prince's Christian History, and Gillie's Collections.

[2] This interesting document will be found at length in Gillie's Historical Collections, vol. ii. p. 306.

But there is an additional consideration, which we may not pass over in silence. The wisdom of Divine Providence, in the removal of our ancestors, appears in a very interesting light, in the influence of their doctrinal belief and practical piety. In this respect, they were men of "sterner stuff" than some of their puny descendants. In sentiment, they adhered rigidly to the doctrines of the Reformation. The doctrine of the Divine existence in a Trinity of Persons;—the doctrine of the entire and complete sinfulness of all mankind by nature;—the doctrine of the atonement by the vicarious sufferings of Jesus Christ;—the doctrine of regeneration, or the necessity of a radical change of heart by the special agency of the Holy Spirit;—the doctrine of justification, by faith alone, in the imputed righteousness of the Son of God;—the doctrine of the certain and final perseverance of the saints;—and the doctrine of the everlasting blessedness of the righteous, and the everlasting punishment of the wicked—are those which the fathers of New-England considered fundamental to the system of Redemption. The Confession of Faith, drawn up by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, may be considered as a fair exposition of their creed. While they did not bind themselves to a rigorous uniformity on all the numerous subdivisions of thought which are contained in so detailed a confession, they regarded this noble instrument as containing the great truths of the Bible, and as sufficiently explicit to distinguish the friends of our holy religion from every class of errorists in the world.[1] Though professed Calvinists, they were men of true liberality and original investigation. They

[1] This Confession was framed after the removal of our ancestors to this country. The Westminster Assembly was convened as a Council to the English Parliament in 1643. To show the high estimation in which the first Churches in New-England held the Westminster Confession, in the year

neither despised nor gave implicit confidence to human authority;[1] and their doctrines and their spirit have had no small influence on their descendants from generation to generation. New-England has ever stepped forward the bold and successful advocate of the doctrines of the Reformation. She has fearlessly driven them to their legitimate consequences; and, within the last two centuries, has done more to illustrate and defend them, than any other section of the Christian

1648 a Synod was convened, with the view of adopting a system of Church discipline, and in the course of their sessions, unanimously passed the following resolution:—"This Synod having perused and considered, with much gladness of heart and thankfulness to God, the Confession of Faith, lately published by the Reverend Assembly of Divines in England, do judge it holy, orthodox, and judicious, in all matters of faith, and do therefore freely and fully consent thereunto for the substance."

[1] There is an interesting fact in relation to the character and views of the Rev. Mr. Robinson, which I am gratified to present to the reader in this place. Prince, in his New-England Chronology, has a quotation from a work of Governor Winslow, in which he says, that "when the people of Plymouth parted from their renowned Pastor, he charged us, before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ. And if God should reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry. For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light to break forth out of his holy word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their reformation. As for example, the Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's word he had further revealed to Calvin, they had rather die than embrace it. And so, said he, you see the Calvinists: they stick where he left them—a misery much to be lamented. For though they were precious, shining lights, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them;—and were they now alive, they would be as ready to embrace further light, as that they had received. But withal, he exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth; and well to examine, compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures, before we receive it. For, said he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such an antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."—*P.* 89, 90.

world. The New-England divines, though differing, as we might naturally suppose men of bold and independent thought would differ, in some points of minor moment, are generally Calvinists of the first grade, and able defenders of the faith.[1]

Nor was the piety of our forefathers less conspicuous than the purity of their doctrines. As though blessings were designed for this nation for a great while to come, her early colonists were not merely good men, but some of the best men the world has seen. About to make this happy land the theatre of memorable displays of his mercy, the Great Husbandman planted it with the choicest vine. "He sifted three kingdoms, that he might plant the American wilderness with the finest wheat." A very faithful historian says of them, "There never was perhaps before seen such a body of pious people together on the face of the earth." [2] In all their designs and conduct, personal and public, they were men who appear to have been governed by the fear of God and the love of Jesus Christ. They felt the importance, saw the beauty, and enjoyed the consolations of true godliness.

[1] The New-England divines have usually, and I think without reason, been called Hopkinsians: but the fact is, they are decided and consistent Calvinists. As such Dr. Hopkins was always considered; and as such his followers were uniformly called, until the famous dispute in New-England about the means of grace, and the discussion of the question, *Whether the Scriptures contain any promise of grace to the doings of the unregenerate?* Dr. Hopkins had good sense enough to espouse the negative of this question; and, though the doctrine was far from being novel, from this circumstance alone his disciples were denominated Hopkinsians. The writer is sensible of the importance to be attached to the principles of the new school; but that there is no such difference between Calvinists of the old and of the new school, as ought to separate brethren, is obvious from one fact,—The great body of both have agreed in recommending Scott's Family Bible, and the Assembly's Catechism.

[2] Prince's Christian History.

They were "children of the light and of the day;" "crucified to the world, and alive unto God;" and, in their habitual conduct, exhibited the enlightened and holy zeal of sincere Christians. Nor were they negligent in the performance of external duties. No people cherished a more sacred regard for the holy Scriptures; none paid a more reverential respect to the Lord's day; none more punctual and profitable attention to family worship and the religious education of children. Nor was their morality less uniform and consistent than their religion.[1] It was the deep and thorough morality of the gospel, pervading alike the chair of magistracy, the pulpit, the bench, the workshop, and the field. Vice and immorality sought a distant retirement, and scarcely found a place among them.[2] And when in the progressive advancement of the colony, there appeared some symptoms of declension, the whole land was filled with alarm. Ministers and people, rulers and subjects, were alive to the question, What is to be done, that these evils may be reformed?[3]

[1] When they left Holland, the magistrates of Leyden gave them this honourable testimony: "These Englishmen have lived among us now these twelve years, yet we never had one suit or action against them."

[2] In a sermon before the House of Lords and Commons, and the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, the Rev. Mr. Firmin, who had resided some time in this country, said, "I have lived in a country seven years, and all that time I never heard one profane oath, and all that time I never did see a man drunk in that land."

[3] In 1679, the Massachusetts government actually called a Synod of all the Churches in that colony, to consider and answer these two most important questions:—1. What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New-England? 2. What is to be done that so these evils may be reformed? Among their answers to the second question, the Synod advised the several Churches to an express and solemn renewal of their covenant with God and with one another. Immediately following this, was the outpouring of the Divine Spirit in 1680.—*Vide Gillie's Historical Collections, vol.* ii. *p.* 20.

Such was the character and influence of the primitive colonists of New-England. And can we, can these United States, can the world be too grateful, that this important section of the earth was first settled by such men? It was a concern of vast importance to the generations destined to inhabit this extended and fertile country, that its first settlers should be wise and good. Had New-England received her first colonies from countries where the refinements of modern philosophy had superseded the religion of the Bible; where the faith and morality of the Gospel were a secondary concern, or the object of no concern; had her early colonists been a Laud, a Priestly, or a Belsham, instead of a Cotton, a Hooker, and a Davenport; had they been Atheists, Infidels, Jews, Socinians, or Universalists, rather than well-informed and humble Christians; and New-England been issuing a race of corrupting errorists, rather than scattering far and wide a collection of men who feared God and loved righteousness; this anniversary would have kindled a very different flame in our bosoms, than that which now animates them, as we call to mind the faith and virtues which have been cemented with our literary and moral institutions, and which were imbedded in the very foundation of our colony.

That was a "right way," a most wise Providence that "led forth" our fathers to this wilderness. Future generations, and other centuries, my friends, will appreciate it better than we. The spirits of the Pilgrims,—now the possessors of a richer inheritance,—now the inhabitants of a loftier and more commanding world,—can look down the "descent of ages," and appreciate it better than we. And could they tell us, I have not a doubt they would rehearse in our ears a catalogue of results, with which this memor-

able event cheers the prospect of their progressive eternity.

In paying this tribute to New-England, let no one suppose, that, with all our filial partialities, we are ignorant of her faults. Faults she would have, did she retain the primitive wisdom and integrity of the Pilgrims. But, my friends, in this survey of the footsteps of Divine Providence in this favoured land, from the commencement of our national existence, truth obliges us to record, that her growth and prosperity, has been attended by a sensible and humiliating degeneracy. There are not wanting men and communities who retain much of the rigid virtue and high morality of our forefathers; but it cannot have escaped the observation of any impartial inquirer, if morality be regarded as our ancestors regarded it, that there is a manifest declension of public morals in the different States of New-England. We observe not now the purity and sincerity which so eminently distinguished the manners of our forefathers, and which dignified and adorned the age of New-England's simplicity. That universal regard for the institutions of the Gospel which elevated the Eastern so much above their sister States; which pervaded the old and the young; which influenced the legislative, the judicial, and the executive departments of her government; which gave such dignity to office, and such energy to law; and which on every side erected a bulwark against the encroachments of irreligion and licentiousness: is found now, with few exceptions, only on the page of some antiquated statute book, or inscribed on the tomb of Puritanism. There has been also a growing inattention to the religious and moral education of the young. Churches seem in a measure to have forgotten to "train up" their youth in the "nurture and admonition

of the Lord;" and parents appear rather to have manifested a deeper concern to ingratiate their children with the "friendship of the world, which is enmity against God," than to restrain them from unhallowed indulgences, and imbue their minds with a sacred regard for the principles and duties of piety. In many districts of New-England, there exists a serious and alarming deficiency of the ordinary means of grace and salvation, occasioned no doubt, partly by the rapid increase of population, but radically owing to that criminal apathy to spiritual want, which has not merely disregarded the demands of an increasing population, but has suffered towns and villages to lie waste, where the fathers of New-England assiduously scattered "the seed of the kingdom," and watered it with their prayers and their tears. The increase of religious sects is an evil of no inconsiderable magnitude; and has had a baleful influence, not only in disturbing the harmony and diminishing the strength of the Churches, but in sinking the sacred character of the Gospel in the view of multitudes who were taught to respect it, and in leaving others to pass with less remorse and censure into the neglect of all religion. The almost entire neglect of Gospel discipline, is one of the features in New-England's degeneracy, which greatly obscures her ancient glory. The greater part of her Churches have thrown aside those common bonds of union, which, in the days of our ancestors, contributed so much to purity of doctrine and mutual comfort and edification; while a growing contempt of creeds and confessions of faith has facilitated the encroachments of error, and given countenance to those who deny the essential truths of Christianity. It is obvious that this is an evil which crept into the Churches gradually. For a long time, the people were much more

Calvinistic in their principles than their ministers; and not until many an art and subterfuge to conceal their sentiments,[1] and great vagueness and ambiguity in their public instructions, did the abettors of a loose theology succeed in giving currency to sentiments which now distinguish some of the oldest and most respectable congregations in New-England; and which has left comparatively few in her metropolis "upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." [2] It cannot be dissembled, that a very different faith is inculcated from some of the pulpits of New-England, from that for which our fathers bid adieu to their native land—encountered the perils of the ocean—became exiles, and which they trusted would be the hope and consolation of their children in future ages:—a faith, which so far from being humbling to the pride of man, commends itself to the unrenewed heart, and constitutes precisely the resting place for a mind awake to its obligations, and determined to maintain its rebellion against the Most High:—a faith, which the purest self-righteousness demands, and with which the most unyielding impenitence is satisfied;—a faith, which

[1] The Rev. Dr. Freeman, a distinguished Unitarian, of Boston, in a letter to Mr. Lindsey, a man of the same stamp in England, writes—"I am acquainted with a number of ministers, particularly in the southern part of this State, who avow, and publicly preach, the Unitarian doctrine. There are others more *cautious*, who content themselves with *leading* their hearers, by a course of rational but *prudent* sermons, *gradually* and *insensibly* to embrace it. Though this latter mode is not what I entirely approve, yet it produces *good effects*. For the people are thus kept out of the reach of these false opinions, and are *prepared* for the impressions which will be made on them by more bold and ardent successors!"—*Vide History of American Unitarianism.*

[2] It is supposed that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts contains about *eighty* Unitarian ministers. Probably about *fifty* of them openly avow their opposition to orthodoxy. There may be *twenty* professed anti-Trinitarians in other parts of New-England.

mocks at the seriousness and spirituality and self-devotement of true religion, and which considers all the tenderness of an awakened conscience, all anxiety for the salvation of the soul, all the solemnities of conviction for sin, as well as "all joy and peace in believing," the object of ridicule and sarcasm;—a faith which relaxes the obligations of personal and domestic religion; which makes no scruple in allowing ministers and people an occasional indulgence in the more refined and fashionable vices; and which often descends low enough to caricature the simplicity and purity of better days. Yes, all this is to be found in New-England—where the daughter of Zion was once "comely as Tirzah, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners"—where our fathers enjoyed such memorable effusions of the Divine Spirit, and beheld such illustrious exhibitions of the Divine glory—where so much has been accomplished, and so much endured, to extend and perpetuate a "pure and undefiled religion." There is something in the apostacy of these latter times to be bitterly bewailed; and if it were not an apostacy that involves the rejection of all the essential articles of the Christian faith; all that is binding in the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures;[1] all that is precious in the hopes of the Gospel; all that is holy in a Christian walk and conversation;[2] and all that is

[1] As conclusive evidence of the truth of this observation, we refer to the fact, that the Socinians of Boston are the known patrons of the "Improved version of the New Testament." One of their publications, *The General Repository*, published at Cambridge, declares it to be "a version far more faithful, more correct, and more intelligible, than that in common use." And yet in this version, whole chapters of the Gospels have been rejected, and nearly all the fundamental doctrines explained away. We might also advert to the disrespectful language with which even the unlearned of the Socinian party are taught to speak of the Epistles.

[2] Dr. Priestly himself acknowledges that "a great number of the Unitarians of the present age, are only men of good sense, *and without much practical religion:* and there is

solemn in the retributions of the eternal world: the peculiarities of time and circumstance might, perhaps, at the present opportunity, with some justice be considered paramount to the claims of truth and religion. But we dare not suppress the fact, and to us it is a source of the heaviest grief, "that many of the sons of the Pilgrims have forsaken the Lord;" "have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger;" "are gone away backward."

Descendants of New-England! This is a day on which it becomes us, with high exultation, to commemorate the virtues of our ancestors; and by our adherence to the principles, and our attachment to the institutions, which they have intrusted to our care, prove to the world how worthy we are to be called their sons. Wherever your allotment may be cast, you have much to do, to revive, and defend, and perpetuate the spirit and influence of men "of whom the world was not worthy." Your children, and your children's children, "will rise up and call you blessed," as you tread in the steps of your fathers. Little do the advocates of a liberal religion and morality anticipate the influence of their views on future generations, or suspect that they are devoting their offspring to a system of faith and practice that will plant thorns on their dying pillow, and embitter their reflections throughout eternity. "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest to your souls."

Christians of New-England! The events of the pres-

a greater apparent conformity to the world in them, than is observable in others." He also says, that "he hopes they have more of a real principle of religion than they *seem to have!*" He further allows, "that they are peculiarly wanting in zeal for religion."

ent day are calculated to prove your sincerity, and to discover the secrets of your heart. "Watch unto prayer." Alike fearless of the allurements of that modern catholicism, which chants forth the praises of its own liberality [1] only to betray the unthinking and the unwary, and fearful of that "philosophy and vain deceit," where many a mind shoots ahead of its own expectations, and passes beyond the hope of recovery or return;[2] "contend, earnestly, for the faith once delivered to the saints." "Be ye holy, harmless, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world."

Ministers of New-England! "Hold fast that you have received, let no man take your crown." "The time will come," yea, is now come, "when men will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts,

[1] In a very excellent sermon, preached by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, not long since, at the ordination of the Rev. William Nevins, as Pastor of the first Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, after expressing his views of the "dreadful and soul-destroying errors of Arius and Socinus," the Rev. author subjoins the following note:—

"The above language, concerning the destructive nature of the Arian and Socinian heresies, has not been adopted lightly; but is the result of serious deliberation, and deep conviction; and in conformity with this view of the subject, the author cannot forbear to notice and record a declaration made to himself, by the late Dr. Priestly, two or three years before the decease of that distinguished Unitarian. The conversation was a free and amicable one, on some of the fundamental doctrines of religion. In reply to a direct avowal on the part of the author, that he was a Trinitarian and a Calvinist, Dr. Priestly said, 'I do not wonder that you Calvinists entertain and express a strongly unfavourable opinion of us Unitarians. The truth is, there neither *can*, nor *ought to be*, any compromise between us. If *you* are right, *we are not Christians at all;* and if *we* are right, you are *gross idolaters.*' And nothing certainly can be more just."

[2] Dr. Priestly says of himself, "He was once a Calvinist, and that of the strictest sect; then a high Arian, next a low Arian; then a Socinian; and in a little time a Socinian of the lowest kind, in which Jesus Christ is considered a mere man, as fallible and peccable as Moses, or any other Prophet." He also says, "*I do not know when my creed will be fixed!*"

shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears, and shall turn away their ears from the truth." The prevalence, the deception, the dishonesty of error, are no cause of despondency to the friends of the "truth as it is in Jesus." Perilous times may come; but in a little while, the Church shall put on her glory. Do not dissemble; do not wrest the Scriptures from their native import; but seize on every opportunity to manifest your adherence to the adorable mysteries of the Gospel. Stand up to your work; and be assured you have nothing to fear, but from the unfaithfulness of a shameful neutrality in a cause which is identified with your Redeemer's glory.

Fellow-immortals! see how every thing is measuring out the span of human life, and hastening one generation after another to eternity. Before another century shall pass away, other men will walk these streets, and be invested with these possessions. Before another anniversary, the places which now know you may know you no more. Forget not the God of your fathers. Come out from the world, and live as "pilgrims and strangers on the earth." And in a little while, all your wanderings shall be over: chastened by the trials of earth, and exalted by the spirit of heaven, you shall be partakers of a rich, a glorious inheritance, and enjoy the "rest which remaineth for the people of God." AMEN.

REMARKS

ON THE CHARGES MADE BY THE Rev. GARDINER SPRING, D.D., AGAINST THE RELIGION AND MORALS OF THE PEOPLE OF BOSTON AND ITS VICINITY

ADVERTISEMENT

WE think it proper to prefix some account of the occurrences which have led to the present publication. The New England Society of this City, animated by the spirit which seems everywhere to have pervaded the descendants of the Pilgrims, had resolved to celebrate the second centurial return of the day of the landing of their fathers, with becoming solemnities. They requested the Rev. Dr. Spring to deliver a discourse on this occasion, and his acceptance of this office was publicly announced, and a general invitation given to all of New England origin to attend its delivery. No one could have imagined that this would be deemed a fit opportunity for holding up to severe remark, the imputed heresies of any portion of that Society which had requested the discourse, or of those who were thus called on to unite in the celebration of the day. It was, however, so used. Yet, had the Reverend Gentleman confined himself to an exposition of the dangerous nature of the opinions held by us—had he even confined himself to reflections upon the consequences of those opinions, as exhibited in the immoral and scandalous lives of the Unitarians of this city, we could have been silent. But when he denounced the degeneracy of our Clergy—when he ascribed to them, and to their flocks, the loose morals of a religion not founded on the Bible—when he assailed the character of the place of our birth, and of all which it contains most dear and most sacred—our most valued friends, and the institutions from which we have derived all that we possess of

knowledge, of virtue, or piety, we could not forbear attempting their vindication.

With this view, two of our number called on the Rev. Dr. Spring on the day after the celebration, and requested a copy of his remarks upon the state of morals and religion in the metropolis of New England, and its vicinity. Whatever reports may have been circulated on the conduct of these gentlemen at the interview in question, we dare affirm, that no symptom of rudeness, or of anger, could have been detected by any impartial observer. They frankly, but coolly explained the object of their visit—they would not disguise, that their feelings had been hurt by the charges Dr. Spring had made, and they presumed he would not refuse a statement of them. They did not wish to put their request upon the ground of right, but they confidently expected his compliance. In any remarks they might feel compelled to make upon his discourse, they were anxious to avoid all misrepresentation; and they reminded him, that should he refuse to grant their request; he would not complain of any mistakes which might be made in stating the substance of his obnoxious reflections. To this honest avowal of their wishes and designs, the Rev. Gentleman observed, that his language had been *too unequivocal* to admit of misrepresentation. He would, however, take the request into serious consideration. It was observed by the other gentlemen, that on such occasions as had produced the discourse of the 22d, the orator was often called on hastily, and it was very allowable and proper, before submitting such a work to the press, to revise and alter it; but under the circumstances of this case, Dr. Spring would perceive the propriety, if he gave a copy, of giving it as it was delivered. Dr. Spring said he should not pledge himself to any course. What he had done was from a sense of duty. The reflections of which we complained had been written *advisedly*, and *with counsel*. He repeated, he would take the subject into consideration, and appointed an interview with the gentlemen on the following Monday at

noon, before which, he said, he should have time to consult with his friends.

The same gentlemen, accordingly, waited on Dr. Spring at his house, at the time appointed. A note was handed them at the door, of which the following is a copy:

MONDAY, December 25, 1820.

Gentlemen,

The object of your call on Saturday evening, was of so extraordinary a character, and I am sorry to say, was presented with so little civility, and so much menace, as to impose upon me the painful obligation of declining to comply with your request.

I am, gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
GARDINER SPRING.

Messrs. ———.

To this note the following reply was returned on the evening of the same day:

REV. GARDINER SPRING, D. D.

Sir,

We have read your note of this morning with no little surprise. We are entirely unconscious of the incivility or menace which you mention. We simply asked as a favour, what we thought, under the circumstances, could not have been refused—a copy of that part of a sermon delivered by you upon an occasion of universal interest to all of New England descent, which contained, what we deemed an unjust, and which was certainly an unprovoked attack, upon many of our most valued friends, and upon a class of Christians in which we are included. There was, sir, no incivility and no menace, except perhaps, that we told you in honest plainness, that if the character of your discourse was such as we supposed, we might deem it our duty to refute its misrepresentations; for we would not that you should be ignorant of the ob-

ject to which we might apply the copy we requested. We are sure that the reason you have alleged for refusing our request did not occur to you at the time. There was nothing in your manner or conversation which implied that you conceived that you had been menaced, or treated with incivility. Why, sir, did you say, that you would take the subject into serious consideration? Why did you, at the close of the interview, invite us to call upon you at 12 o'clock this day, after you should have had an opportunity to consult your friends? Considering the nature of the charges which you have thought proper to make, and the circumstances of our interview, we cannot but consider your present excuse as very ill founded. If upon reflection, you should think it your duty to comply with our request, we shall be gratified by its being done as speedily as may comport with your convenience.

We are, sir, anxious that this matter should be placed upon its true merits. We repeat, that we are utterly unconscious of having said or done anything at which you could justly take offence; nor had we the slightest idea that offence had been taken, until so informed in your note. If you will favour us with a statement of any expressions used by us which you think unwarrantable, we shall know wherein we are supposed to have erred, and we shall be very ready to make any reparation which the case can warrant. We are, Sir,

Your obedient servants,

Monday evening. ———.

To this, no reply has been received: We shall, therefore, subjoin a sketch of the remarks made by Dr. Spring in the discourse referred to, as collected from several of our number who were present at its delivery. We do not of course, vouch for the correctness of particular expressions; but the spirit, and in most instances, the language, we believe, is faithfully given. We would more cheerfully have cited the discourse exactly as delivered, had the author permitted.

After stating that the object of the Pilgrims in coming to this western world, was to establish liberty of conscience, and the right of private judgment, for themselves and their posterity, so that they might safely make the Word of God the man of their counsel and the only guide of their faith; and after reciting the religious creed of the Pilgrims and their early descendants, and noticing a meeting of the Clergy of Cambridge, at which, he said, an unanimous vote was passed, approving of the doctrines decreed by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, *for substance*, he remarked, that this liberty of conscience and right of private judgment might be abused and extended to dangerous lengths; that he could not, dared not refrain from declaring on this occasion, that in some parts of New England it had been so extended; that pure and orthodox religion had of late declined there to an alarming degree, particularly in the metropolis, where a loose and easy religion was now preached—that the glory had departed from many of the ancient churches—the Sabbath was profaned—family religion neglected, or nearly extinct—and a laxity in morals, and rapid increase of vice, the natural consequence of this departure from the faith of our fathers, and the religion of the Bible, was everywhere to be observed. "We look in vain," said he, "for the virtue, the integrity, the piety, and the firmness of her first Clergy—where can we now find such men as Edwards, Fuller, Sewall, Mather, &c. Comparatively few are left in the land, particularly in Boston and its vicinity. A thick moral darkness broods over that once highly favoured and most exemplary spot, and the prospect into futurity is gloomy and distressing to those who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth. It is mortifying to see this great falling off—our ancestors were made of sterner stuff than some of their puny descendants," &c. After speaking of the churches and schools which were planted and established by our pious forefathers, and the immense benefits that have been derived from them by all, he asked,

"What would have been the condition of New Eng-

land now, my friends, if the men who first landed on the rock at Plymouth, instead of being pious Christians—had been Infidels, or Jews, or Mahometans, or Catholics, or Arians, or Socinians?"

On these charges, we now proceed to offer a few remarks. We would first observe, however, that we should not have thought it necessary to obtrude upon the public so much in detail, occurrences in which we have only a personal concern, had not many most injurious and ill-founded reports gone abroad, which it was thought proper to correct.

REMARKS

IT will be understood that we claim no right of superintendance over the conduct of the Clergy. Denunciation from the pulpit, we have heard, and shall hear again, without remonstrance or reply. We regret that it has been thought necessary to pursue this course, although we are fully conscious that it is a sure method to fill our ranks.

But we hope that we have some higher and better feelings, than those of mere sectarians. We repeat that no considerations shall induce us to interfere with the regular discharge of the official functions of a minister of the gospel, whatever may be our private sentiments in relation to them. But the case now in question, falls under considerations totally distinct. The occasion which drew forth this singular discourse, excited an interest common to all who were descended from the pure, honourable, and prolific stock of our New England ancestry; embracing at this day, immense numbers of every rank and character, and of every possible diversity and shade of opinion, religious and political. Still there was one close and endearing tie, which bound us all together. We were all descendants of the Pilgrims. To this chord, every heart responded, and this alone should have been sufficient for the orator, the patriot and the Christian. If touched in a true and congenial spirit, it would have called up a thousand high and grateful recollections, brightened

and renewed a thousand endearing sympathies. This theme would have given full scope to the freest exercises of a spirit exulting in praise to God, or warming in benevolence to man.

How was it possible, that upon an occasion like this; an occasion rendered unusually solemn and interesting, by its occurrence at a point in the revolution of time, which, in this life can happen to no man twice; to what strange influence can it be ascribed, that a man selected to express the sentiments which must have glowed in the heart of every man who had a heart, and sentiments which every hearer would have re-echoed with enthusiasm, should have deserted all the delightful themes of peace and harmony, common sympathy, and kindred affection—and for what? For theological contention—of all subjects the harshest, most dissocial, and discordant. Yet this individual was himself a descendant of the Pilgrims, and felt something of the spirit of the occasion; a reputable scholar, an upright man, and a minister of that Gospel which proclaims peace on earth and good-will to men.

To such lamentable excesses are good men led by the fatal delusions of party spirit. In charity we must and do believe, that this intolerance proceeds from a sincere but mistaken zeal for the supposed interests of religion. But this is no justification, or if it be, it is equally sufficient for all bigotry and persecution. The temper and the heart have a mighty influence upon the judgment. How far its abuses may be excused or justified, is for the decision of Him, who alone knoweth all our hearts, and will, in mercy, judge their errors and infirmities. For us, it is enough to say that the *effects* of persecution and violence are the same, whether they proceed from honest fanaticism, hypocritical pretence, or causeless cruelty and hatred.

It would be uncandid and untrue, for the writers of this address to pretend an indifference upon those topics which divide the Christian community. We will not disown our faith. We are Unitarians, and we have embraced those doctrines and views of Christianity, which are usually found connected with what we deem the pure and scriptural truth of the Divine Unity. We wish the diffusion of these sentiments because we believe they are the best antidote to the effects of a baseless creed, too often leading to a gloomy superstition, and which has driven and still drives thousands to covert or avowed infidelity—because they tend to purify the heart—to exalt all its best affections, and extend their influence over the life—to reveal and endear to us, the just and parental character of God—and, in one word, to disseminate in their simplicity and power, the truths of that holy religion which was revealed on earth by his blessed Son.

Such are our sentiments, long settled, deeply rooted, and frankly and openly avowed. Such the truths, which each of us will teach to his children, and, upon proper occasions, strive to disseminate within his humble sphere of influence; but neither our talents—our knowledge—our stations, or habits of life, are such as to fit us for public theological controversy, and we will not so far forget ourselves, as to be drawn into it.

The reverend gentleman declares, and we doubt not truly, that he acted "*from a sense of duty.*" Alas! poor human nature! How much unkindness and uncharitableness are indulged, and how many bitter passions are gratified, for *conscience sake.* But on this subject, there is no perfect rule, but that laid down by our Saviour: "Do unto others, as ye would that they should do unto you;" and there is no better mode of learning the true application of this rule, than to re-

verse the situation of ourselves, and those to whom we are opposed. Suppose that the reverend gentleman, upon whose discourse we are remarking, or any one of his friends or congregation, had, in compliance with a general invitation as one of the descendants of the first colonists of New England, attended the recent centurial celebration in one of the churches in Boston, or at the Rock of Plymouth; what would be his emotions, if the speaker of the day, passing from the topics of common interest, should feel impelled, by a sense of duty, to descant upon the moral and religious character of the City of New York—if he should inform his audience, that in that benighted region, the Day-Spring of our blessed religion shone yet but in faint and infrequent glimmerings, giving not light for vision, or warmth to quicken and mature the seeds of virtue and piety, which God hath planted in our nature; but a feeble radiance, just sufficient to render visible and terrific, the dark, vaporous, and chilling masses of an earth-born theology—that our clergy, a "*puny*" and degenerate race—were men whose zeal for orthodoxy was far more than commensurate with their knowledge of the truth; with minds cramped and bowed down with the chains of systems imposed upon them by their sects, and which were converted, by their distempered fancy, into heavenly panoply—men rashly denouncing those judgments which the Omnipotent hath reserved for his own infliction, upon their fellow Christians as honest, as wise, as pious as themselves, because they have dared to reject the vain schemes of man's device, and to study for themselves the revelation of our Saviour—men, who to prove a favourite dogma, are capable of citing to their deluded hearers, as the Word of God, a passage interpolated into Scripture, and elsewhere acknowledged, by all respectable critics, even of

their own party, to be spurious—dishonouring God, by attributing to him the attributes which a savage ascribes to his deity, and libelling their fellow-creatures, by painting them as devils in disguise—solemnly declaring, that the "vilest profligates upon earth would more probably be the objects of divine favour, than the most moral members of society"—that this character of the clergy and mode of preaching, had produced its correspondent and necessary effects, upon the character of the people of this city—that there were among us some avowed, and thousands of concealed, but practical infidels, who rejected Christianity altogether, because she was presented to them in a form so distorted, and they knew not that her real features were more attractive—that among the believers, or those who were called and thought themselves such, there was a want of information even upon topics the most prominent in controversial divinity, and on points of faith which they were most zealous to defend, almost inconceivable in a community so enlightened—that the influence of the clergy was zealously guarded by carefully closing the pulpit, and, to the extent of their power, every other avenue of information, against all access of sound reason and scripture truth, here termed heresy.

(We pause to intreat our readers not to consider this as our language, or the expression of our sentiments. We ever have maintained a different tone of temper, and we hope and trust we ever shall. Had we heard a representation like this upon such an occasion, we should not have been backward to express our strong displeasure. Our readers will do us the justice to bear in mind, that we use this method to bring home better than we otherwise could, a sense of the real character of this transaction.)

Let us then suppose the misguided orator, attempt-

ing to add the poignancy of fact to the vehemence of denunciation, should inform his hearers, that our city was divided into religious factions, as bitter and uncharitable against each other, as they could be against those who differed most widely from them all—that those who pretended to a purer and exclusive orthodoxy, had unsparingly denounced the reverend author of the address in question, and those who thought with him, as having apostatized from the true and ancient faith of New England, from the doctrines of Mather and Edwards—as seducers of souls, "and supporters of tenets, whose legitimate and only just conclusion, was downright atheism"—that these denouncers, had so far excited the passions, and inflamed the bigotry of their hearers, that in a religious assembly so numerous that it might be termed a fair representation of the religious public, all those who thought with this gentleman had, after a full accusation and defence, and long debates protracted through numerous meetings, been deliberately and solemnly pronounced unworthy and unsafe to be sent upon a Christian mission.

Let us suppose that the preacher in the further discharge of the duty imposed upon him by the dictates of his conscience, should proceed to draw a picture of the morals of this community, as flattering as his delineation of their religious tenets, and that in charity, he should ascribe all the errors of our practice, to the errors of our faith—that he should represent the great majority of the inhabitants of this city, as living without any regard to religion or attendance upon public worship—should state that the number and publicity of places of resort for drunkenness and debauchery, was greater than any experience or knowledge of his hearers could render credible—that the Sabbath was constantly and openly profaned—that on that day shops

were everywhere open to supply all the gratifications of the senses, and incentives to excess—and that the principal avenues of our city then presented a spectacle more nearly resembling a race course, than the silence and solemnity which should pervade a Christian land.

Will the reverend gentleman, in the expression of sincere truth, and the exercise of devout piety, lay his hand upon his heart, and say whether he should deem such an attack as becoming the courtesies of polished life, or as befitting the character of a Christian. Let him say whether such a representation would be more distorted from the truth than his own, or more calculated to excite hatred and ill-will in the breasts of those assembled to commemorate an event, alike interesting to all, and with hearts prepared for all the pure and sweet influences of charity and love.

Let him reflect whether it was well, or kindly done, to bring a railing accusation against his fellow Christians, who were, at that moment, assembled at the rock where our common ancestors first touched our soil, and supplicating the Throne of Grace for a blessing upon all their brethren, in whatever distant lands they may now be scattered.

It is now time to state, distinctly, the motive and object of this appeal to the public, and this we shall do with honest plainness.

We respect and love many who differ from us in religious faith. We intend to preserve these sentiments of regard, and to retain the habits of social intercourse. We hope to unite with them in petitions and thanksgivings to the Throne of Grace, upon all occasions of common interest. We design to aid them, and to receive aid from them, in our united endeavors for the interests of knowledge, morality, and religion. In literary and social institutions, we should be happy to

associate ourselves with them as common friends. We mean to hail them at our feasts and festivals, and frankly to extend and receive the right hand of fellowship, and the smile of good will. Those who cannot reciprocate these sentiments, we can only pity. We will not interfere with them but in self-defence; but they cannot and shall not drive us from our ground. That ground is this: we will exercise the right of attending all public and social assemblies, as members of societies, or on the invitations of those who are such; upon all occasions, where we have a common right or a common interest, without the liability to have our feelings irritated, or insulted by any attack upon our friends, or ourselves; and if we are thus insulted, we shall deem it no apology to be told, that the outrage upon decorum, and the usages of cultivated life, was committed from a sense of duty, or the supposed obligation of conscience.

This ground we must take, or be driven from society. We do not claim to be exempt from a full portion of human infirmity and passion, and we fear that a frequent recurrence of such scenes as that of the 22d of this month would engender such strife and contention as we do not like to think of.

This stand, therefore, we shall take, and most assuredly shall maintain. We speak not as boasting in our own strength in numbers; but from a secure reliance on the justice and magnanimity of public sentiment—upon that sense of propriety, decorum, and equal rights, which must ever form part of the character of a gentleman.

We are happy and grateful to be able to acknowledge that this incident has proved the security of our reliance upon these principles. We have learned that this measure was taken upon counsel and advice, and its

author supposes it has received the sanction of public approbation; if so, the community contains more hypocrites than we are inclined to believe; for we have found few, or none, willing to express the opinion that this discourse was decorous or well-timed. But if it were otherwise, we cannot perceive, that the attack was the more generous or manly, because it was made upon a few, and there were numbers to support it. We trust, however, that we do not mistake the public sentiment. This gentleman may, very probably, have counsellors about him, willing to advise to any course to which they find him previously disposed, and ready to support him after its adoption; but theirs are not the sentiments of the public. If we can believe current report, and uniform information, we are well assured that there is no disposition to defend the propriety of some portions of the sermon delivered at the recent celebration, or of the equally improper, though less extended and severe reflections, which one individual thought it his duty to make against the Episcopal Church; and which, with the singular felicity of adaptation which seems to have prevailed throughout the day, were delivered at the festive board, surrounded partly by Christians of that persuasion, and very shortly after the return of thanks in a truly catholic spirit, by a Bishop of that church, *an invited guest*, who did not consider himself under any conscientious obligation to revile the dissenters from his communion.

We believe the impression made upon the public is not materially different from what it would have been, if the gentleman appointed to deliver the address to the Historical Society at its last anniversary and who is known to be an Unitarian, should have thought it proper (*of course from a sense of duty*) to entertain his hearers with a descant upon the errors, the follies

and the vices, of those who did not subscribe to his religious creed. The case would have been exactly parallel, and we should hope would have met with a similar result.

If the charges thus preferred against the principal town in New England and its vicinity, had been true—that was not the time to make them, and his were not the lips by which they should have been uttered. If the occasion were suitable, we might here give advice, which though drawn from a profane source, may be useful in the pulpit;—"use them not according to their deserts, but after your own dignity—the less they deserve, the more merit is in your bounty." But the charges were not true. God forbid that we should charge this gentleman with falsehood! We firmly believe that he is incapable of such a crime; experience has taught us to allow almost everything for the delusive influence of bigotry, and the sophistry of party zeal. But we say boldly, these charges are, in every respect and particular, in the spirit, and in the letter, utterly untrue.

Upon this part of the subject, we speak with some knowledge, and some feeling. We deem it important that the truth should be known, because we feel assured that unfounded representations of the character and tendency of Unitarian principles, and the unjust and false prejudices with which the minds of sincere Christians have been industriously filled, have been in this country, the chief barrier to the prevalence of rational religion.

Before returning to the main subject of our attention, we are happy to remark, that we find some things which we need not dispute in the representations of this gentleman. With him, we concur in advocating the right of toleration, and of private judgment in matters

of religion, and can only wonder at the strange contradiction between the principles professed, and their practical application, as exhibited at the commencement and conclusion of this discourse.

The character of the early settlers of New England, as drawn by him, is in the main such as meets our cordial approbation; and if a sense of truth would have compelled us to throw a few slight shades into the picture, we do not complain that he has omitted them. We admit, likewise, that whatever reproaches may be justly cast upon the religious principles of Boston and the eastern part of Massachusetts, they apply to the greater portion of the people of that community; for this gentleman has truly stated, that there are few there now remaining who walk in what he calls the pure faith of their ancestors, and he has also truly stated that this defection (if such it be) is rapidly increasing.

But here our concessions end. We mean to draw no invidious distinctions. They are not to our taste, and our consciences do not compel us to make them. But we do say, that the moral and religious character of the metropolis of Massachusetts, (for this is the peculiar point of attack,) will bear a fair comparison with that of any other large town in the United States. We enter into no subtleties of polemic discussion, but take the plain rule, "by their fruits shall ye know them."

We are told that they have set up a new religion which is not founded on the Bible. If by this charge was meant, as we believe most of the hearers understood, that the authority of the Bible was disregarded by Unitarians, we have no words to express our feelings. The truth, is the precise reverse. In all their controversies, the constant appeal of Unitarians has been from all creeds, confessions of faith, and schemes of human device, to the Word of God itself; and their

utter rejection and disregard of all authority but that of the Bible, has uniformly and notoriously been one of the most distinguishing features of their faith.

The observance of the Sabbath day was the object of particular remark, and we doubt not that there is a very apparent difference between the mode in which it is now observed, and the custom of former generations. But, right or wrong, this is the necessary consequence of the progress of the age, and is everywhere visible. No purity of faith, or strictness of orthodoxy, has presented a different result, in any other portion of our country. Those who are strictly religious and observant of its rites, are not now the great mass of any community. But on this point the comparison of Boston with other towns would not be disadvantageous.

It is indeed true, and a circumstance likely to be misconstrued abroad, that the inhabitants of that town of both political parties, have been in the habit of holding political meetings on the evening of the Sabbath preceding the first Monday of April. But it should be remembered, that their annual election for Governor and Senators, is upon the next day—that this is an *ancient* custom, and originated, no doubt, partly in the disposition indulged by our dissenting ancestors, who considered Saturday, and not Sunday evening, as holy time, and wished to mark strongly their departure from the rites of the English church.

But we are told that family worship is out of use in this demoralized community. How did the gentleman come by the knowledge of the fact? Is it because the windows and doors are not thrown open, and observers called in to admire their fervent eloquence? We have no doubt that superficial observers have often drawn false inferences from that delicacy and solemnity of feeling which prevents a certain class of Christians

from bringing forward their religious faith, or their practical devotion, in such a manner as to render them subjects of public remark. The houses for public worship are, in proportion to the population, as well attended, and if we are correctly informed, rather more numerous than in the other cities.

But we cannot dwell on these details even for refutation. We will only say, that all the brethren of this gentleman have not regarded that community with his eyes. We were gratified by a remark very recently made by an orthodox clergyman who had resided there for some time, that deeply as he regretted the errors of their faith, he had never dwelt among a people whose deportment and conversation appeared to him more moral or religious.

We feel, however, that we cannot pass from this subject without calling on those whose eyes are not distorted, and whose hearts are not callous, to view it in another light. Is it then true, that this part of our country, one of the most ancient, and certainly not the least enlightened, is so blasted in its religious and moral character, by a pestilent heresy, as to be justly cut off from all kind sympathy, and charitable regard and held up as an object to avoid, if not to execrate? For what shall its inhabitants be denounced, save that they have dared to worship their Creator according to their own consciences? Have they been found cold and niggardly in their hospitality to the strangers who have come among them—backward in their patronage of useful institutions—parsimonious in their charity—revilers of their brethren abroad—or disturbers of the public peace? Have they driven their fellow Christians of differing sentiments from their communion table or even have they refused to welcome them to their pulpits? Have they been languid, or indecisive,

in the generous effort to prevent the extension of slavery? Have they withheld their full contributions to the societies for the dissemination of the scriptures? In what place was it that the Peace-Society, perhaps the noblest institution of the age, found its origin, and in what class of Christians its chief support?

Regard for an instant the spectacle presented by the reviled town of Boston, and the community of which she is the head, at the very moment when these denunciations were uttering from a pulpit in New York. A very numerous convention is there now sitting to amend a constitution which the severance of Maine has rendered no longer applicable. What is the character of the delegation from this town of Boston? Federalists —and they have elected the most respectable of the republican party—Unitarians—and they have chosen delegates from among the orthodox clergy. Has there ever been assembled in this country a body of public men, more wise and honourable—of men actuated by higher and purer views of their duty to their country and their religion? Have not their characters and their conduct deserved and obtained the respect of wise and good men, of all parties, throughout the union? Is it supposed that a similar convention in this or any other state would present an object better entitled to the honourable regard of the true lovers of their country?

Let those who are in the habit of disparaging that community, and of cherishing prejudice against their religious faith, pay some little attention to the proceedings of this convention. It will reward their pains. It will afford a refreshing interlude to the disgusting scenes of selfishness and turmoil, which such assemblies too often present. Let the observer then inquire, who are the members that compose this dignified as-

sembly; he will find an immense proportion of those, for the errors of whose religious sentiments, one class of Christians can entertain no charity. He will find the whole weight and influence of these members exerted in support of order, good government, "piety, religion, and morality." He will find them struggling, and struggling successfully, to retain in that state, what scarcely exists in any other, a *legal provision* for the maintenance of public worship—and this upon no sectarian scheme, but allowing each individual to apply the contribution furnished by him, to the support of any sect which he may happen to prefer.[1]

One would have thought, that to an orator of New England descent, the present attitude of her principal state would, upon such an occasion, have furnished a more grateful theme than any deviations of speculative faith from the true line and square of orthodox opinion. But patience and time will work the remedy for these wrongs. The progress of opinion and religious toleration, has wrested civil power from religious bigotry, and the same progress will assuredly put a termination to such excesses as we now have occasion to lament.

We have now discharged what we deem a duty to ourselves and those friends whom we most esteem and honour. It affords us no pleasure to be forced before the public, and we hope this is for the last time. But though we *wish* we do not *sue* for peace. When attacked, we shall be ever ready and able for defence. The God of truth has surrounded his own cause with

[1] We respectfully request such of our readers as are honestly apprehensive of danger from the diffusion of Unitarian sentiments, to read the sermons recently delivered in Boston upon this subject, by Doctor Channing and Professor Everett; and to compare their style, spirit, and tendency, with those of the discourse of Dr. Spring. Some portions of Mr. Everett's sermon are now appearing in our public prints.

an ethereal armoury, whose temper its assailants know not, and against which their earthy weapons will but shiver into dust.

If in the ardour of rapid composition, or the heat of wounded feeling, we have written aught that can offend the just and good, we ask for that charity which in this imperfect state all must need, and all should be ready to extend.

THE DUTY AND REWARD OF HONOURING GOD

JOHN BRODERICK ROMEYN

1821

JOHN BRODERICK ROMEYN

(1777-1825.)

From 1808 till his death Dr. Romeyn was well known as a preacher in New York City. He left an important pastorate at Albany to take charge of the Cedar Street Presbyterian Church, then just formed. Before these he had filled satisfactorily posts in Schenectady and Poughkeepsie. He belonged to the Romeyn family of preachers, and was the son of Dr. Theoderic Romeyn, from whose work grew Union College. Among the labors without the immediate field of Dr. John Romeyn's parish may be mentioned his connection with the founding of Princeton Seminary. Not a student, Dr. Romeyn was yet a wide reader, and, though the power of his addresses is lost in the reading, he was an impressive speaker. From a description by his friend Dr. Vermilye, may be gathered some idea of his style. "He was little of a rhetorician, but there was in his words most momentous truth. There was life, vivacity, pathos, downright energy, perfect naturalness and sincerity, which gave the preacher the victory and made him, as for many years he was, the equal of his associates in popularity and success."

SERMON

1 Samuel ii. 30.

Them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.

SUBORDINATION, in civil society, is essential not merely to its greatness, but to its very existence. Because all men are born free, it does not follow, that the distinction between rulers and their subjects is a matter of political compact, or the result of that superiority, which muscular strength, or providential advantages, give to some over others.

Government of every kind is an *ordinance* of God; and however diversified the opinions of men may be about the mode of its administration, it is essential to our social nature. From this ordinance, our connexion in the different relations of life, whether public or private, secular or religious, receives its good or bad character; its facility to produce the performance or neglect of duties; its power to increase or meliorate misery, and its capabilities to consummate our eternal ruin, or to secure for us the blessedness and glory of heaven. The *ordinance*, however, must be correctly understood, that our social connexion may be the source of present and future real and permanent enjoyment, and not of disappointment and misery.

I have said that government of every kind is an *ordinance* of God. As such, it must be regarded, and its responsibilities met at all times, and under all circumstances in which the persons governing may be placed. Hence arises the duty incumbent upon human authorities, to respect and obey the authority of God, inasmuch as they owe their existence as governments, and *the right* of exercising their gubernatorial power among their fellow-men, to his sovereign appointment.

To this plain and incontrovertible truth God refers in the text, which constitutes a part of his message to Eli, who possessed the authority of Judge, High-Priest, and Father in Israel. In each of these offices—offices, the two first of which under the theocracy, were filled by *special designation;* and the last, throughout the Jewish dispensation, in consequence of the promised Messiah, was considered not merely a source of personal endearments, or of clannish and national importance; but a matter of special providence—Eli had failed to discharge his duty. Though a man manifesting the evidences of genuine piety, yet being imperfectly sanctified, he acted under the influence of an overweening attachment to his children, which caused him to honour them more than God, in suffering them without restraint, grossly to sin against God, though he was their civil ruler, their religious head, and their father. Hence God denounced his wrath against the house of Eli, cutting them off from the priesthood, and consigning them to disgrace and poverty. And as the people of Israel acquiesced in, if they did not approve of, the iniquity of the sons of Eli, thus answering a later description made of them by a prophet, "like people, like priest;" [1] God in righteousness, not merely gave them a prey to the Philistines, but suffered the

[1] Hosea iv. 9.

ark, the symbol of his presence, to be captured, so that upon them as a nation, his providence wrote in legible characters, Ichabod, the glory is departed.

Thus he verified his own declaration, both to Eli and Israel; a declaration involving in it principles of the last importance to the present and eternal welfare of men in their different social relations—"them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

To these principles and the application of them to this anniversary, your attention is now solicited.

I. *The principles involved in God's declaration will be unfolded and illustrated.* These cannot be discussed at full length; but their nature will be examined with sufficient minuteness to answer our present purpose. They are the following:

1. *God alone can confer upon the children of men real and permanent honour.*

By honour is meant any thing which renders individuals praiseworthy, or commands esteem and veneration. The love of it, as it was originally implanted in the human constitution, was a love of conformity to God, the uncreated exemplar of moral perfection. Its influence therefore over the understanding, the heart and the life of man, so long as he continued in a state of innocence, was elevating and blessed. But sin perverted it into a means of degrading and ruining thousands of our race.

The grace of God revealed in the Scriptures is designed to counteract this perversion; and in all cases where this grace has been made effectual, the love of honour has regained its original character, and produces corresponding effects. It is one of the strongest passions of our nature, showing itself in our earliest years, and being coeval with the first exertions of rea-

son. As such, God addresses himself to it *in the dispensations of his Providence and his Covenant relations to the children of men;* saying, in the language of the text, "them that honour me I will honour—and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

1. *In the dispensations of his Providence, honour, of every kind, or whatever gives weight, character, influence, and power, comes from him alone.*

He gives these things in a special manner, for his providence is "his most holy, wise and powerful, preserving and governing all his creatures and all their actions." He has not established general laws in the material and moral world, which uniformly and invariably operate, producing by their own inherent power all the effects he intended they should ever produce; because these laws are his works, and therefore cannot possess inherent power independent of himself. That which never would have existed, had it not been for the will of another, cannot possibly have any power in its constitution to continue itself in existence. For God to produce a creature independent of himself for one moment, is to bestow on that creature necessary existence; which cannot be, because necessary existence belongs only to God. Besides, if these laws produce all that harmony and order which we see in the universe, we ascribe to them consequences, which none but an infinite intelligence can produce; and, therefore, to be consistent, we must adopt the sentiments of those who say, every thing is a part of God, which is blank atheism.

They therefore who speak with understanding on this subject, must be convinced that these laws are nothing but God himself managing and controlling his works directly and specially, in such a manner as is most consistent with the perfections of his nature. In a word,

unless they consider God a mere indolent spectator of the Universe, they must grant he is every where present as an active intelligent Spirit, preserving and governing all things which he has made. Thus he is represented in the Scriptures, as exercising a special providence, not only over great things, but those which are small [1]—not only over necessary things, but over contingent ones.[2] This representation proves that there is no such thing as chance, or accident, or fortune, in the world. These are words we often hear used, but they have really no meaning; or if they have, are merely "names for the unknown operations of Providence; for it is certain that in God's universe nothing comes to pass, causelessly or in vain." [3]

Hence the honour which he gives is a special act of his absolute sovereignty. Inasmuch, however, as he is not bound to give rewards to the obedient, though bound to execute punishment on the disobedient, a question arises, on what ground does he act in giving rewards? To honour him is the duty of all intelligent beings. Those who fail in the duty must meet with his righteous displeasure as their sovereign, whilst those who are faithful, do no more than their duty. Whence is it then, that over and above their protection and security guaranteed to them so long as they remain obedient, God has promised a *reward?* Such promise does not belong to the moral law, which, being written upon the heart of the first man at his creation, was the law of his nature. It is one of the sanctions of the positive law, which restricted man's use of the fruit of the trees of paradise. Thus,

2. *In the dispensing of honour in its different kinds,*

[1] Matt. x. 29, 30. Psal. cxlvii. 9. Joel ii. 25. Matt. vi. 26. Exod. xxi. 13. Prov. xvi. 33.

[2] Jer. li. 16. Psal. cxlvii. 16.

[3] Al. Turretini, Dissert. vi.

God acts not as a sovereign merely, but as a sovereign who has entered into covenant relations with men.

The positive law of which we have spoken, was converted into a covenant, commonly called a covenant of works. The penalty threatened, but not the promise, belonged to it as a law. While the man, from his dependant nature, was engaged to God by the law, God became *gratuitously* engaged to him by the promise.[1] In this promise given to man in a state of uprightness, God addressed himself to his hopes, as he did in the penalty to his fears. Nor does the covenant of grace in this respect vary from the first covenant; for its language is, "he that believeth shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." Between the two covenants there is a close analogy, so that the language of both to man is, "them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

In both there is a direct appeal to the governing motives of human conduct; motives arising out of our dependant nature, and our responsibility to God under the constitution of a covenant relation. And as there has been no other covenant relation between God and man, involving in it the salvation of men, than that of works and of grace; the *uncovenanted mercy*, of which some talk much to make a parade of their charity, is merely the consignment of those towards whom the charity is professedly extended, to the penalty of the law without mercy, in case of their disobedience, and therefore a cruel mockery of human misery.

II. *No man, or number of men, can possess this honour, who do not honour God.*

You will recollect it is the honour which cometh from God. This is vastly different from the honour which

[1] Gib's Sacred Contemplations.

man confers upon his fellow man. The latter is ephemeral in its duration, vain in its nature, and unsatisfactory in its effects; whilst the former is eternal, substantial, and blessed. Though dispensed in a sovereign manner, it is dispensed according to covenant relations, and upon the conditions contained in these relations. When the creature honours the Creator; the subject his Sovereign; and the redeemed sinner his reconciled God, then God honours him.

Let us then examine for a moment the nature and the extent of this duty, together with the manner in which it must be performed.

1. *The nature of honouring God demands our attention.*

It is doing and declaring those things which show either *his* excellency, or *our* reverent and superior regards to him. When he made the universe, as he could propose no higher object to himself, he made it for his own glory. When we fulfil this end, we honour God; not by increasing *his* essential glory, but by manifesting *our* views and feelings of that glory, as exalted in excellence beyond our comprehension, and recommending him as such unto others by our exertions. It is God whom we are thus to honour; not the being of our fancy, pride, or unbelief, but the God of the Scriptures, FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST, the JEHOVAH who hates sin and must punish the sinner. Without such an apprehension of his nature we cannot give him the honour due to his name; for we cannot acknowledge his perfections as we ought. In the face of Jesus Christ the Redeemer, he displays the honour due to him more conspicuously than in the works of creation and providence. It is impossible for us to enter fully into the nature of his revealed will, if we reject the divinity of his only begotten Son, and the efficacy of the

atonement of that Son. In the cross of Christ we see mercy and truth met together; righteousness and peace kiss each other. JEHOVAH, FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST, alone can be just and yet the justifier of the ungodly who believe in Christ. We know of no other God. No other has been revealed to us: no other made us. He it is whose glory the heavens declare, and whose handy-work the firmament showeth forth.

2. *The extent of honouring God is ascertained by our constitution, consisting of body and soul.*

Man is composed of two parts; the one binding him to earth, the other connecting him with heaven. With the powers of the one, and the faculties of the other, he must fulfil the great design of his creation. Our bodies must be presented to God a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service.[1] Our members must be yielded as "servants to righteousness unto holiness." [2] Our souls must realize him as altogether honourable and glorious; must delight themselves in him supremely; desire more communion with him, and be tenderly and perseveringly solicitous to preserve alive this sense of the honour due to God.

We cannot devote our bodies and spirits to any so properly as God. He is the Creator of both; and by the atonement of Christ hath redeemed them from destruction. They are his, and ought to be exerted for his service, and for the manifestation of his glory.

The duty of honouring God you perceive is extensive. Every member of our bodies and every faculty of our minds, must be enlisted in his service. The understanding must honour God by studying his nature and perfections as visible in creation, providence, and grace; the will must honour him by submitting to his will, universally and cordially: the affections must

[1] Rom. xii. 1. [2] Rom. vi. 19.

honour him by centering in him as their object. He must be loved and feared; in him we must rejoice, trust, and hope.

This temper of the soul must characterize the whole life. All our actions must contemplate the honour of God as their ultimate end.

3. *The manner in which this duty can be performed, is by the regenerating and sanctifying grace of God.*

The Holy Spirit who, in the economy of redemption is the spirit of Christ, converts the sinner by applying the blood of Christ to the heart and conscience, enlightening the mind, and purifying the heart. Thus the darkness which obscures his understanding about the things pertaining to his salvation is dispelled; and the wild misrule of the affections of his heart with the appetites of the body annihilated. "Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." [1] In this change, no additional faculties are created; but those which belong to our intelligent nature are rescued from the domination of sin, and placed under the guidance and power of the Holy Spirit. According to Christ's own words, he "reproves the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment: of sin, because they believe not on me; of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more; of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged." [2] Such a reproof, where it is felt, and the whole life regulated by it, necessarily produces a complete renovation of a sinner from death unto life—from rebellion unto obedience—from apostacy to faith. The doctrine I know is considered fanatical, but it will stand the test of sober examination. Neither the superstitious notion, that the pouring of water in baptism on the subject, will regenerate a child of wrath; nor the skeptical, I

[1] 2 Cor. v. 17. [2] John xvi. 8-11.

should rather say, the atheistic position, that an heir of the curse, with his carnal mind at enmity against God, can please him by his own works: does overturn or disprove the sober, deliberate, rational truth of the Son of God, which he unfolded to Nicodemus: "Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be born again." [1] In accordance with which, his apostle describes his followers as "being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever." [2] Without such regeneration and sanctification, no sinner can honour God, but, on the contrary, will continue hostile to his honour, and a rebel against his authority.

III. *God can be honoured in no other way, than according to his own directions, made known to them by a special revelation.*

Such a revelation springs from his nature as Creator and Legislator, but especially as Redeemer. He could not make a rational creature lawless, but him subject to a law. This law was written on Adam's heart, and was natural to him. But the positive law, and afterwards the prediction of Messiah, were matters of pure revelation. *The positive law, and the prediction of Messiah,* unfold to us God's two covenants, of works and grace. All the information which we have on these subjects is contained in the Scriptures of the old and new Testaments. They furnish us with the only directions which God has made known to us concerning his will, or the way of honouring him. But here three questions present themselves to our attention.

1. *Are these Scriptures really the will of God, revealed to us for our guidance and salvation?*

When the term Scriptures is used, I mean the books from Genesis to Revelation. It is true, that when God

[1] John iii. 7. [2] 1 Peter i. 23.

spoke the words of the text, but few of the canonical books of the Old Testament were known; yet the rest of them, with the whole of the New Testament, constitute what we have received as the Scriptures. The inquiry therefore is, do these books come down to us with sufficient evidence, that God inspired the writers, or is our reason the judge to determine what part or parts of their contents constitute his will?

To the first question, the answer is unhesitatingly given in the affirmative. After all the laborious investigations of the subject, the testimony thus far is decidedly in favour of the received text.[1]

To the last, insuperable objections present themselves; arising out of the diversity of views which exists among those who reject the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. In examining closely their pretensions, and the grounds on which these pretensions rest, I can find nothing of a uniform nature,[2] and therefore nothing of a binding authority. They leave us in the state of Israel, when there was "no king, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes."[3] This completely destroys the paramount power of God, and infringes his wisdom, as the supreme legislator of the rational creation.

[1] The reader is referred to Nolan's Integrity of the Greek Vulgate; Hale's Faith in the Holy Trinity; Laurence's Critical Reflections on the Improved Version; Nares' Examination, with Magee's Notices of the same. After all that has been written on the subject, to say the least, the objections to certain texts are of doubtful force, and their abandonment by some orthodox persons, *premature and rash;* particularly that of 1 John v. 7.

[2] The uniformity meant, is confined merely to what are considered essential doctrines—doctrines involving in them eternal issues. The question is not about small matters, but those of the last importance. Is Christ Jehovah, or a mere man? Is his sacrifice necessary for our salvation, or are our virtues and good works sufficient? If he is a mere man or subordinate God, Trinitarians are idolaters. If he is Jehovah, Antitrinitarians are atheists, without God and without hope.

[3] Judges xvii. 6.

We praise Lycurgus and Solon, with other legislators, for furnishing their countrymen with a *definite* code of laws, but deny that such a code, *equally definite*, has been given by the supreme legislator, to his creatures and subjects. If the scriptures in their present form, resting on indestructible evidence, do not contain his will, as legislator, where is it to be found? Grant for a moment, that the human understanding is to determine, *not* the evidences, but the nature of this will, and what will be the consequence? "Jehovah, Jove, and Lord," will be the light in which the nature and claims of the ETERNAL ONE, will be viewed and respected. Juggernaut, among the Hindoos; the Grand Lama of Thibet; the Devil of the Africans, may be honoured as well as the Jehovah of the Scriptures. And hence, as there is no fixed or determinate will made known to us, none of our race *can* be punished eternally. The doctrine of universal salvation is the necessary result of the speculative opinions of those who reject the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. In all cases they who deny the atonement of Christ, have been compelled to league themselves with those who deny eternal punishment.[1]

2. *How are we to regard these Scriptures?*

Assuredly as requiring our obedience both internally and externally. By them the understanding must be informed in all truth, the heart directed in its affections, and the conduct regulated in all the relations of life. They are given to us as "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."[2] Revealed to us "by

[1] This was the *great paramount* consolation of Dr. Priestly according to his own declaration on his dying bed. "Ye shall not die," said the Tempter, and *on his falsehood* the Heresiarch depended for eternal happiness.

[2] 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

inspiration," [1] they constitute in every respect the rule of our faith and obedience. In them, as a whole, is contained the will of God, for our present comfort and everlasting peace. From them alone, we are enabled to "give an answer to every man who asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear: having a good conscience." [2] Rejecting them as they are, we reject our compass in the wide ocean on which we are embarked; and are left in our contingencies, trials, duties, and hopes, to the gloominess, the despondency, the despair of uncertainty, as it respects the issues of *the life which now is*, in its connexion with *the life which is to come*. Like the foundered mariner, we have nothing left us but the spars, the masts, the ropes of the deck from whence we have been cast with a power we can neither resist nor contravene, to contend with the buffetings of the mighty deep.[3]

3. *How are we to act, when a diversity of opinions about these Scriptures, occurs?*

This question involves in it a number of important rules of interpretation, which time will not permit me to discuss at length on this occasion. A few will therefore be merely introduced, and their claims upon our attention briefly unfolded.

The *first* rule for the interpretation of the Scriptures, is drawn from God's paramount authority over us. He must always have the highest place in our estima-

[1] 2 Tim. iii. 16.
[2] 1 Peter iii. 15, 16.
[3] I take my leave, says Bishop Watson to Gibbon, with recommending to your notice, the advice which Mr. Locke gave to a young man who was desirous of becoming acquainted with the doctrines of the Christian religion. "Study the holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament: therein are contained the words of eternal life. It has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any mixture of error, for its matter." Would Locke have thus recommended these writings, if he had thought of them as Priestly, Belsham, and their associates?

tion, for to glorify him is the chief end of our creation. As you have heard, all government of every kind springs from him; he therefore, must necessarily take precedence of any, even the highest of his creatures. No interpretation of his will can be correct, which brings him down to our level, instead of raising us up to his perfection. "My thoughts," saith God by the prophet Isaiah, speaking of the covenant of his love, the sure mercies of David, "are not your thoughts, neither are your ways, my ways, saith the Lord, for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thought than your thoughts." [1] In the collisions which different interpretations of his revealed will, have produced, between *his rights* as a sovereign, and *ours* as creatures, the apostle's words ought to guide us. "Let God be true, but every man a liar." [2] Such a conclusion indeed annihilates the pride of the human understanding, in its usurped power to determine *what are the truths*, contained in God's will; but it provides, for the honour of him who gave us our understanding, and who has adapted his will to our intelligent nature, as well as our perishing condition. His honour is of more consequence than our pride; for we are atoms in his creation. He is *all in all*.

The *second rule* for interpreting the Scriptures is drawn from their nature. They contain a revelation of divine grace, intended for the salvation, the guidance, and the happiness of mankind. As such, their contents cannot be considered a discovery of the human understanding, or a republication of what is called the religion of nature. Containing, therefore, a supernatural revelation, they require supernatural aid to understand them. This aid, however, is not contradictory

[1] Isaiah, lv. 8, 9. [2] Rom. iii. 4.

to our reason; though far above its utmost powers. The province of reason is to determine *the evidences* which substantiate this revelation. The supernatural aid is requisite, to direct the reason of those, who are satisfied about its evidences. If these evidences are doubtful, we are as *rational* in rejecting *the whole*, as *parts* of its contents; because we have no more authority for one of its doctrines than another, and no warrant to respect one book in the Bible, *more than* another.[1]

The *third rule* is drawn from the existing character of man. This is, from the testimony of the heathen themselves of the most unfavourable kind, and therefore requiring divine interposition in his behalf. In all their darkness, they deeply felt their guilt, pollution, and helplessness. They had not the hardihood of impudence to maintain that there was more goodness among men, than evil—more virtue than vice. THEY KNEW BETTER! and the Bible gives us the clearest and fullest information on the subject that we can desire. Nothing which man can do for himself, will answer. He must have help from God, suited not only to his intelligent, but to his perishing condition. Supernatural aid he must have, in his use of the Scriptures, or

[1] Dr. Priestly charges Paul with being an inconclusive reasoner; his epistles, therefore, can be no part of the Bible. Mr. Evanson says, "the evangelical histories contain gross and irreconcilable contradictions—" they of course constitute no part of the Bible. Mr. Belsham charges John, in his gospel, with using metaphors "of the most obscure and offensive kind." Damm, a German Socinian, says, the history of the fall is a fable—the conquest of Canaan, in Joshua, fictitious —the books of Samuel full of falsehoods—the Psalms contain no prophecies. Semler, on 2 Pet. i. 21, says, that the prophets have delivered the offspring of their own brains, as divine revelations. A recent author has elaborately endeavored to prove that Christ lived 25 years after his resurrection; and that what the evangelists relate as his ascension, was nothing more than his being lost in a fog!!!

he cannot escape the ruins of his apostacy and rebellion.

The *fourth rule* arises out of man's responsibility, as a creature to his Creator, and as a subject to his Sovereign. As the Creator and Sovereign has made known his will to *him*, he cannot plead ignorance. Nor can he plead that this will requires any thing unreasonable, unrighteous, or unholy. As God could not make a rational being except under a law, and as he was pleased to convert that law into a covenant that he might gratuitously reward obedience; so a rational being cannot but construe his revealed will so as to vindicate or establish the authority of God, and the subordination of man.

Secondly. *I pass on to the application of the preceding principles, to the Anniversary which has convened us together.*

In this application I stand before you as a minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. My opinions of the nature of that Gospel are known, for I have never concealed them. It would little comport with the honesty and integrity of ministerial character, to sacrifice truth, for what I consider to be error. The case of Eli, whose family, as you have heard, were degraded, is a warning to me and to all ministers of religion; and the case of Israel who lost the ark of God, by their connivance at the conduct of their ungodly priests and rulers, furnishes sufficiently clear landmarks, as it respects your duty. Christian courtesy and Christian charity, in the Scriptural meaning, never can be observed at the expense of Christian honesty—an honesty which your fathers considered entirely the reverse of a profession "to be ever learning, and never coming to the knowledge of the truth." Your fathers were men of whom the world was not worthy. They understood their civil

and religious rights, with a clearness of perception and correctness of view superior to the majority of their countrymen, and surpassed by few, if any, of the protestants of their day.

At the time when they appeared on the theatre of action, "the spell by which the papal hierarchy had bound the multitude for ages, was dissolved. To this important revolution, as you well know, the Christian world is indebted for civil liberty, that inestimable temporal blessing; the emancipation of the mind from subjection to every restraint but that which common sense and truth impose; the diffusion of knowledge among all classes of men, the poor as well as the rich, subjects as well as rulers; the enlargement of the sphere of knowledge in its different branches by new discoveries; the melioration of the morals of society, and the condition of individuals; the excitement given to ingenuity and industry in the various departments of life, by securing the possession of their rewards; and, in fine, all that ease, comfort, decorum, polish, order, and civilization, which make it a model to the rest of the world."

These consequences were unfolding rapidly in the different protestant nations, when in England they were arrested by the haughty and imperious Elizabeth, whose accession to the throne was hailed by a people who had groaned and agonized under her bloody predecessor.[1] The spirit of inquiry which the Reformation has produced, was extending itself to matters of state and of the church, as well as to the smaller details of private life. Men who had thrown off the despotism of superstition, destructive equally of political and religious liberty, could not quietly submit to the despotism of Eliza-

[1] Miss Aiken's history of Elizabeth's time, &c., furnishes curious and interesting facts, illustrating the character and conduct of this Queen.

beth. Conscious that the Reformation was not complete, they were eager to proceed in the good work. This was particularly the case with a majority of the exiles, who had been entertained with great humanity by the reformed states of Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva; the magistrates enfranchizing them, and appointing churches for their public worship.[1] They desired a more thorough reformation, and greater conformity to the foreign churches, but they failed. The arguments of Elizabeth and her courtly prelates to enforce uniformity in religion, were fines, confiscations, imprisonments, and all manner of hardships. The *Puritans*,[2] as they began to be called in this reign, remonstrated against this infringement of the rights of conscience. Many of the matters required were indifferent: as the reception of them, however, involved the right of the crown to lord it over conscience, they opposed; but in vain. The history of this period is so familiar to all as to need no enlargement.

My object in furnishing these notices is to press upon your attention the principles which influenced these real patriots—these friends of liberty in the church and the state, among whom your ancestors held so conspicuous a station. They have been unfolded to you and illustrated in the explanation of God's declaration, "them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." They could not submit to the right which the throne claimed of regulating the consciences of subjects in matters of religion; nor could they acquiesce in the absurd doctrine of "passive

[1] Neal's History of the Puritans, edited by Toulmin.

[2] This name originated at Frankfort, where the division of the English exiles commenced. See "The Troubles of Frankfort," Phoenix, 2d vol. Strype refers to this work as giving *authentic* information. Strype's Annals, vol. i., 3d edit., chap. 7, p. 103, 104.

obedience and non-resistance," pertinaciously cherished by the infatuated Stuarts.

Whence did they derive this noble spirit of opposition to political and religious despotism—a spirit which has immortalized them, and constrained Hume himself to acknowledge that "the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone; and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution?" From the Bible. "The Bible, the Bible is the religion of protestants," exclaimed the celebrated Chillingworth.

Remarkable was the charge given by the venerable Robinson to the Pilgrims of New-England. "I beseech you remember, it is an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from *the written word of God.*" [1] This was their guide, their counsellor, the man of their heart. Having exercised their understandings in examining the evidences of its authenticity and divinity, they submitted them to its contents. With such views of its authority, and such obedience to its directions, they bid farewell, to the land which had given them a home—(when their unnatural country left them no alternative but to suffer or emigrate), and to their companions, with their beloved pastor.

Methinks I see the interesting group assembled on the shore of Delfthaven. On the countenances of all, anxiety and sorrow are depicted. Every one has his eye fixed on the man of God—the father of the flock. Kneeling down in the midst of them, he commends them to God and to the word of his grace. Prayer being ended, like the elders of Ephesus when they parted with Paul, the emigrants hang upon his neck, and weep, sorrowing at their separation, not knowing

[1] Neal's hist. and Brooks's Lives of the Puritans.

but that they would see his face no more. They part, never to meet in this world. The ashes of their pastor rest in Leyden, and theirs in Massachusetts. The wide ocean rolls between their earthly remains—but their spirits are with God.

Descendants of the Pilgrims! venerate the memory of your fathers. They were noble men, though despised by the slaves of the crown and the supporters of the hierarchy. The spirit, which their companions who could not emigrate, possessed, not long after their departure, broke forth with power, and accomplished a revolution then unexampled in English history—a revolution which placed on the seat of government a man, than whom ancient or modern times has furnished but few equals, and no superiors. To *Oliver Cromwell*, a *Puritan*, England is indebted for her maritime glory. And in his character and conduct, I do not hesitate to say, he furnished a striking contrast to the Royal Stuarts. He honoured God publicly in his official station, however dubious his personal religion, or censurable his political ambition may have been. During his government, vice and irreligion were discountenanced in the most decided manner, whilst the open manifestation of the fear of the Lord was encouraged and patronized. The Royal Stuarts, on the contrary, "despised God," in the scriptural sense, substituting the traditions and will-worship of men, in the place of HIS truth and directions; and counting the honour of kings of more consequence than the honour of God. Remember their conduct and fate in your political relations, and honour the God of your fathers. They were honoured by him, in giving them a name, and enabling them in this western world to lay the foundation of a growing nation. In the Eastern States of our Republic, the fruits of their political sagacity grafted on their

religious principles appear. And if there be in these fruits any thing worthy, commendable, and honourable, it springs from the fact that your fathers honoured God. Your sin in not so doing will be greater, inasmuch as you enjoy full, entire, and perfect liberty of conscience, with none to molest you, or make you afraid.[1]

In the spirit which these Puritans possessed, there was a manliness and honesty; a fortitude and chastity rarely witnessed. It is true they are charged with hypocrisy. But unless their profession was contradicted by their works, the charge is groundless. They abounded in the duties of religion, and have never yet been *convicted* of acknowledged violations of the duties of *morality*. The charge, unfortunately for its credibility or its truth, was first brought against them by the friends of the throne and the hierarchy—the *cavaliers*, as distinguished from the *round heads*, who openly and unblushingly indulged themselves in immoralities, as well as irreligious acts. They have also been charged with austerity, as being the bitter enemies of social enjoyments; but the authentic histories of their day, prove that they were as much the friends of the same, as their opponents, so far as real religion would allow.[2] They

[1] The cry of persecution in a country like this, under its present government, is really laughable, excepting when *liberal and rational Christians* act, as they did in Dorchester, Massachusetts, towards the late Mr. Huntington, in an exchange with Mr. Codman. The doctrine of liberty of conscience is well explained in the confession of faith of the Presbyterian Church, chap. xx. sect. 2.—"God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in any thing contrary to his word, or beside it in matters of faith and worship. So that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commandments, out of conscience, is to betray *true liberty of conscience;* and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also."

[2] Mrs. Hutchinson's life of her husband, Edinburgh Review, vol. xiii. Art. 1. Cromwell's Life of the Protector.

could not indeed laugh and sing, drink and revel, as the others, because the fear of the Lord forbade. Before they obtained the ascendency, it was natural for them to manifest dejection of spirits and sadness of heart, for they were under the murderous grasp of archbishop Laud,[1] and his deluded sovereign Charles I. To the taunts of their adversaries on this subject, they could with justness reply, as the captive Jews did to the *Pagan* Babylonians who required of them mirth, saying, "Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" [2]

Charges not unlike this have been brought against your ancestors after their settlement in this country; but in the estimate of human character, according to the Bible, they are of small concern. Their desire was to think on and perform "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." [3] Their faults, which are unfolded in the objections against them, all originated in their profound regard for the Bible. They considered it to be a book containing directions for mankind in every relation of life.

In the Retrospective Review, vol. iv. Part 2, Art. 1. Howell's Familiar Letters, the reader can see the account of the religious observances of one who, though as the writer states, was not an ultra-royalist, was still an anti-commonwealth man, and a thorough churchman.

[1] Laud, after Leighton, the father of archbishop Leighton, at his instigation, was sentenced to have his ears cut, his nose slit, to be branded in the face, to stand in the pillory, to be whipped at a post, to pay ten thousand pounds, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment, pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, GAVE THANKS TO GOD, WHO HAD GIVEN HIM THE VICTORY OVER HIS ENEMIES. Brooks, Lives of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 431, who quotes Rushworth's Collect, vol. xi. p. 56, 57. Ludlow's Letter, p. 22, 23. Who could suppose after this, that High-Churchmen would be hardy enough to apologize for Laud, and condemn Calvin, in the case of Servetus?

[2] Psal. cxxxvii. 1, 4.

[3] Phil. iv. 8.

From it they derived their reverence for God, and their determined resolution to honour him in the way of his appointment.

Descendants of the Pilgrims! imitate their love of the Bible. In it they found the salvation of their souls, viz., redemption through the blood of Christ. This was the charm which operated upon their minds and hearts, and produced such sacrifices of comfort and ease. None but Christ—none but Christ—was the motto of their Christian heraldry; and the language of their lives, as well as their hearts, was, "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." [1]

I have said that redemption by Christ was the charm which made the Bible so precious to them, and it is this alone which *can* make it interesting to any of our fallen race. Without this, there is a want of meaning in the Levitical institutions; obscurity, impervious to light, in the prophecies; and such a degradation of the character and office of Christ, as to make him of no more importance than Moses or any other of the prophets of God. Without this, there is nothing to excite our hopes or fears; nothing suited to our existing character and condition; nothing to produce in any person a deep, solemn, and controlling sense of responsibility to Jehovah. Let then the Bible be to you, as it was to them, your guide —your directory. And recollect that their Bible was not "*an improved version*," [2] made by sectarian men,

[1] Gal. ii. 20. See the Cambridge Platform, drawn up in 1649, in Mather's Magnalia, fol. b. 5. p. 23, and the Saybrook Platform, in 1703. These platforms were the confessions of the churches in New-England, and leave *no doubt* about their faith.

[2] The improved version of the New Testament, upon the basis of Archbishop Newcome's new translation, attributed to Belsham, and republished in Bos-

from an examination of codices and printed texts, replete with conjectural emendations,[1] which requires the knowledge of the learned languages to ascertain its correctness: but the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as they were delivered to the churches by the evangelists and apostles of our Lord, faithfully translated, which require merely common sense and an honest heart to understand, and approve themselves to the experience of every renewed sinner.

Descendants of the Pilgrims! your fathers honoured the God of the Scriptures, Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. With child-like simplicity, and ardent gratitude, they owned Jesus of Nazareth to be Jehovah, their righteousness and strength. To him they confided their souls and bodies for time and eternity, as knowing him in whom they believed, and being persuaded that he was able to keep that which was committed to him against that day. He was all their salvation and all their desire. You justly glory in their love of civil and religious liberty; but seek rather to glory in the cross of Christ, by which they were crucified unto the world, and the world unto them. It was the application of his blood to the heart that gave them the spirit of martyrdom. Remember that he will come a second time to judge the quick and the dead. Before his awful bar, you with them must stand to give in your account. They have left you a precious legacy: not merely a goodly land—nor civil liberty—but the Bible! You are the posterity of those who watered the soil on which they sojourned, with tears shed in

ton. For the *honesty*, as it respects Newcome's name, and *truth*, as it respects the text, see Magee, Hales, Nares, Laurence, &c.

[1] One of Belsham's canons to interpret Scripture is this: "Impartial and sincere inquirers after truth must be particularly upon their guard against what is called the *natural* signification of words and phrases." Cal. Enq. p. 4, 5.

wrestling with God for their children and children's children. For this Bible and those prayers you are answerable. If you have rejected, perverted, or disobeyed the first—the last will operate to your increased condemnation.

What a meeting will that be! A meeting between the fathers of New-England and their descendants. No religion will sustain you then but that which supported and comforted them in their trials. If you are not united to that Lord Jesus who was the God of their salvation, you perish for ever in the final catastrophe of the universe.

Descendants of the Pilgrims of New-England! receive this discourse as an affectionate tribute to their memory, and an honest admonition for your benefit, from a descendant of those Hollanders among whom they sojourned, and from whose shores they emigrated. I have done. Amen.

"THE MEMORY OF THE JUST IS BLESSED"

PHILIP MELANCTHON WHELPLEY

1822

PHILIP MELANCTHON WHELPLEY

(1794-1824.)

The brief records of Mr. Whelpley that have come down to us through three quarters of a century hold the ever fresh interest of real life. One instinctively fills in the bare outlines of hard struggle, sudden success and brief enjoyment. One sees a youth hardly more than a child, teaching to eke out his scanty means for study, till between studying and teaching his education is gained and he is licensed to preach. One feels his mingled elation and distrust when his first call comes, not from some country parish, but from the First Presbyterian Church of New York, and one watches eagerly those ten years of labor, when he is still training himself for his task; till, at thirty, he passes beyond the range of slow human vision. Mr. Whelpley was born at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, the son of a schoolmaster who could not have been in easy circumstances, since he seems to have been almost the only instructor of the future minister, and the son, in turn, early became his father's only assistant. The young preacher is described as remarkably graceful in bearing and attractive in person. Near the commencement of his ministry he preached in the college chapel at Yale, and the students, learning that the fascinating stranger was to be at one of the city churches in the evening, flocked thither. One present on the occasion says, "I never saw the like of it. It seemed to me, as I came across the Common, as though the young people were literally dancing in admiration of the sermon." These were the days when the thought of the scholar was clothed in elegant rhetoric, but under the influence of the old master, his father, decorations were cut more and more ruthlessly till little indeed of such a tendency can be found in the severe English of the sermon delivered at the celebration of this society two years before his death.

DISCOURSE

HAD I been willing to forget that I and my fathers claim a share in the birthright blessings of the Pilgrims' God, I should have declined the honour now conferred upon me by you, friends and brethren of the New England Society: for there are those who might better sustain a public feeling so deep and expansive as that which welcomes this anniversary. But in the flush of a sentiment you well understand, and which carried me back to the bosoms and the graves of five generations, I consented to meet you this evening, and be the minister of your thank-offerings and prayers to the God of the Pilgrims. And though that sentiment has been chastened and subdued into fear by reflection upon the duty before me—upon the few broken hours I have been able to devote to it—and the difficulty of gathering into a small compass the parts of a history that might easily exhaust the finest and boldest minds of our country, I cannot now be silent: the period has arrived, and I must speak, though it be but in feeble imitation of the master spirits of that age, when Christian heroism planted these new empires, and Christian eloquence gave them to immortality. You will bear with me then for the hour; and require no further apology for an effort to which little dishonour can be attached, for the very attempt is praiseworthy.

Were we assembled, my friends, for any purpose in-

consistent with the sacred duties of this day and of this place; were it our wish to take advantage of an interesting era for the excitement of local prejudice, or the widening of political distinctions among those who by birth or by adoption have an equal right to the paternal inheritance; were it our desire to foster a pride of ancestry, that loves the emptiness of names more than the virtues of piety and noble deeds, or to swell the note of exultation into an apotheosis of men whose ambition it was, not to be "gods," but the servants of God, my heart might well refuse its sympathy and my tongue its office: for "with such sacrifices the Lord is not well pleased." Such motives would be more appropriate where the most debased of human passions are allowed to reign, and where idolatry is not felt to be a crime. The emotions we now indulge should not lose in purity, in power, in elevation, by the intrusion of any thing unhallowed; but should gain, as in the perceptions of the wise and the good they do greatly gain from the holy interest that is thrown around them by the stillness of a Sabbath evening, and the sacredness of the house of God.

Here, then, in the calmness of reflection, and while the spirit of prayer is waiting to realize the grace of heaven, and while we bring our souls into one deep and fervent expression of gratitude and praise, that God has remembered mercy for the children of those that loved him unto the fourth and sixth generation—here we are permitted to comply so far with the original attachments and sympathies of nature, as to dwell upon the memory of those, who, under God, were the authors of our present privilege, and of our country's glory. We are permitted, did I say?—We are required, by every feeling of patriotism; by every circumstance of social blessing; by our love of independence and peace;

by our zeal for intellectual and moral improvement; above all, by every sentiment of piety and gratitude to the Lord of providence and grace: we are required to call to mind those wise and good men who, in the spirit of Moses and of Joshua, delivered our fathers from the tyrannous yoke, and planted them in the wilderness, and divided to them the rich and unalienable heritage that has descended to us—an heritage, not of gold, or lands, or titles, but of social happiness, and civil independence, and religious freedom. This is the inheritance, and under the guardianship of the same Providence that has hitherto saved it from profanation, this shall for ever be the inheritance of the Pilgrims' sons!

Let this then be our theme:

THE MEMORY OF THE JUST IS BLESSED.
Prov. chap. x. ver. 7.

It has been sanctioned by the Spirit of Inspiration, and it covers the design of this anniversary.

The antithesis of this proverb is, "*but the name of the wicked shall rot:*" and it is not only a kind of prophecy respecting what shall be under a righteous Providence, but implies also an obligation upon us to honour the memory of those only "to whom honour is due." While then we condemn to oblivion the names and the actions of all those who, instead of being the benefactors of their race, have been the "scourges of God and the terror of men;" while we refuse a memorial to those who have only fought battles, and sold the lives of men, and rolled many garments in blood—who have wrought the iron bands of despotism, or increased the aggregate of human misery, or put out the lights of

science and religion, in order to be themselves the rulers of the darkness; while we think it shame to give the semblance of hallowed feeling to the memory of men—however much they may have been seen and felt in the world's affairs—who have had neither goodness nor greatness enough to save their name from perishing, and their destiny from heaven's curse,—it becomes us to cherish the idea of those who have been "*the just*," the good, the only great, "the excellent of the earth;" and we will gladly, for it is fit and beautiful before the face of heaven, to recall their names and memorize their deeds. We will speak of them in the solemn assembly; we will tell our children what they were, and what they did; we will pursue their bright image till it leads us back again through all the scenes of their labour and suffering, and ascends to heaven from the places of their last repose; we will still dwell upon their character, their spirit, their actions, their example, and give them the embalming of our soul's affections, and they shall live and be immortal, for they are worthy.

"*The memory of the just is blessed.*" It has been so, and it shall always be so, not on earth only, but in heaven. When I think of the Plymouth Pilgrims, and imagine myself standing upon the rock where they first rested from their wanderings, and look abroad upon this wide and now populous region, it occurs to me, is there one of these favoured multitudes incapable of appreciating the benefits derived to himself and the world from the fact that they have lived? 'Tis but a little while, and all these fair lands were "a waste howling wilderness;" the wild beast roamed in the unbroken forest, and none were found but the habitations of cruelty and savageness. But now we see a great and extending empire; the wilderness with its barbarous race, has melted away; and there remain the crowded cities,

the numberless villages, the hamlets, and gardens, and fields, and woodlands of a mighty people—a nation, more happy, more intelligent, more free, more pious than any upon earth, if social felicity, and general intelligence, and the most perfect liberty, and the divine influence of Christianity, can give such pre-eminence.

And to whom, under the providence of Him, who "increaseth the nations and destroyeth them," do we owe this astonishing change? *Chiefly to the Plymouth Pilgrims.* Not because they were the first European colony that was established in Northern America, for they were not: Virginia, and the Carolinas, and Canada, being already occupied, they could only claim the first settlement of what has since been called New-England proper. Nor was it because they came with such wealth, and numbers, and chartered privilege, as to give them an immediate and determinate influence upon the condition and fortunes of this section of the new world: for they were impoverished, and had nearly exhausted their resources in equipments for the voyage; they were feeble in numbers, amounting at their landing to only forty-one heads of families and one hundred souls, and of that number half were buried before the naked forests, upon which their eyes first rested, were clothed in verdure; and they had no patent privilege that gave them a right even to the narrow houses of their dead. But, my friends, we owe this surprising change to these Pilgrims—and we rejoice to tell it to the world—because they were, in the strictest sense, A RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY. To this we are doubtless to ascribe it, that they were not only so favoured of Providence in the singular combination of circumstances leading to their settlement, but also that they came at once to exert such a decided influence upon the destinies of New-England. *Religion* was

their grand characteristic; the presiding motive of their original gathering in Britain—of their location at Plymouth—and of their subsequent polity, which has at length been moulded into a prodigious engine of civil and religious prosperity. In this respect they were singular among all the settlements that were made, before or since, upon the American shores. It was their sacred appointment to bear the ark of the Lord over the mighty waters, and to find it a resting place "in the fields of the wood"—in a land, over which the darkness of centuries had hung; and while other adventurers were seeking the gold of the Mexicans, or the patents of Virginia, or the traffic of the northern coast, it was their first ambition to set up a tabernacle at "Shiloh," and worship God in the conscious liberty of his emancipated sons! In this respect, too, we may justly say, they were singular among all the colonies that have been planted in the earth, since the dispersion from Shinar. If an exception be made, it can only be in favour of that chosen, and heaven-directed people, who were rescued from Egyptian bondage, and guided by the Shekinah through the sea and through the wilderness, till their settlement in the promised land. It was their plea with the obdurate Pharaoh, "let us go three days journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice unto the Lord our God." Sometimes there has been the semblance of religious motive mingling with the circumstances, that have excited the spirit of emigration in earlier and later times. We are told, for example, of colonies from Egypt, that escaped from the oppression of the Pharaohs; of colonies from Phenicia, that "fled from the face of Joshua, the son of Nun;" of colonies from Greece, that were planted in obedience to the Delphic oracle; of colonies from Rome, that were animated by the prophecies of the

sybil, and guided by the raven's flight; and we are told also of colonies from Europe, that in later times have embarked under the blessing of the Vatican, to convert the millions of Asia and the millions of America: but it is easy to see, how, under all this pretence, the spirit of discovery, urged on by domestic oppression, carried abroad the Egyptian in as many directions as were given him by the mouths of the Nile—how the temptations of commercial enterprise led the Phenicians to the site of Carthage, and beyond the pillars of Hercules—how the narrow limits of Attica and the Peloponnesus compelled the Greeks to spread themselves abroad upon the inviting borders of Asia and Europe—how the love of dominion and military glory carried the Roman eagle through the breadth of the ancient world—and how, in more recent periods, the spirit of Loyola or of Cortez has extended the arm of a tyrant or a bigot over countries, that have been discovered and colonized only to be depopulated or enslaved. In no instance, recorded on the page of history, saving the one already excepted, do we find the same presiding motive that actuated the Plymouth Pilgrims. They stand alone, and were, for a season, to this western hemisphere, "as a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawned, and the day-star arose."

Now we are often told, not only of the singular providences that marked their history, but also that "the settlement of the Plymouth Colony was so peculiar in its causes and character, and has been, and must still be followed by such consequences as to give it a high claim to lasting commemoration." But we are not always told wherein they were *so peculiar* as to place them at such a distance of regard from other establishments of a similar kind. At least, *the influence of religion,* as their absorbing, moving principle, and as

affecting so deeply, as it doubtless has, the present character and condition of their descendants, is not always sufficiently allowed. I make this remark, not as a criticism upon the views of some who have discussed this topic before me, but rather as an introduction to the view I shall now endeavour to present of the origin and conduct of the Plymouth colony; and I do it for the sufficient reason, that "*the memory of the just is blessed*," chiefly because of the piety which adorns their character, and of the direct influence of that piety in determining the character and condition of their posterity.

I would speak of *the influence of religion upon the character and conduct of the Plymouth Pilgrims, and inquire how that influence has resulted in the subsequent and present condition of New-England.* Premising, that I have not been able to collect and condense in a historical view the multitude of facts, that should come into the illustration of this subject,—partly through want of time for the necessary research, and partly through ignorance of the minute details of a history which ought to be familiar to our children, but which lies in such old or scattered fragments, that it can scarcely be said to have been written. The most that can be done now, will be to allude to some of the leading events in the rise and fortunes of these interesting colonists; and in this attempt, it will be as much as I can hope for, to avoid the danger of suffering indistinct recollections to take the place of historical truth.

There are *three points of observation* at which we may view these Pilgrims, in order to judge of the influence of religion upon their character and conduct. These points are distinguished, in respect of time, as days of united and public prayer; and in respect of im-

portance, by events so striking and decisive as to form the leading chapters of their history.

The *first point of observation* will carry us back to that day when these Pilgrims were assembled at Leyden, by their venerable pastor, Mr. Robinson, to determine the grand question, whether they should embark for America. It was a day of fasting and prayer. And it was spent, not as colonists usually spend their day of preparation, in reflecting upon their situation and prospects—upon the fires of persecution, that were still burning in England—upon the dangers to which they and their children were exposed in Holland—upon the hazards of the experiment before them—and in bowing the knee to the Lord their God. The revered Brewster was there; and the noble Carver, and Bradford, and Standish, and a hundred others, of a spirit chastened by the faith of Him, who walked upon the waters, and roused by the conviction of right and of duty to the daring of an enterprise that needed only a conscience void of offence, and sought only the patronage of heaven. Twelve years had they already lived exiles from their native land, having been driven out by the proscriptions of a bloody prelate and an arbitrary king; and now they must be exiled again from the country of their adoption, and find a home somewhere beyond the Atlantic's waste, among savages, or in the solitudes of an unknown world. While they thus fasted and prayed, they remembered how peacefully they might have enjoyed their homes and their sanctuary, in the land of their birth, and the image of the venerable Clifton was before them;—they remembered how they had been extremely harassed and torn asunder, and some cast into prison, and some put to death by the agents and ministers of ecclesiastical tyranny;—they remembered that dreadful night, when

on the bleak and desolate shore of Lincolnshire they met to sever the ties that bound them to their beloved England; and how the houseless multitude, pierced with cold—men, women, and children clung together, and felt more willing to brave the horrors of a midnight tempest on the German Ocean, than turn to meet the relentless bigotry that pursued their flight;—they remembered, too, how they had been oppressed and afflicted during their residence in Holland; how difficult it was for them and their fellow-sufferers to enjoy a secure asylum there—many being discouraged from joining them, because of the restrictions and hardships that awaited their exile, and many being induced to return, because they "preferred the prisons of England to the liberty of Holland with these afflictions:" they were alarmed lest the cause of religion should die among their posterity, for it was daily suffering from the prevailing licentiousness of the continent; and in the true spirit of primitive evangelism, they had "an inward zeal and great hope of laying some foundation, or making way for propagating the kingdom of Christ to the remote ends of the earth." "They were troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed."

Further to illustrate the leading motive of these Pilgrims, we have only to look at their assemblage on that day which was the crisis of their fortunes, because their lots were cast for America. They were a singular collection of people, thrown together by the same external causes from various parts of the three kingdoms, not governed by the common motives of interest or ambition that associate men for a distant enterprise or multiply recruits for a foreign service, and animated by the same spirit—a spirit bold, but not presumptuous;

subdued, but ready to act; distrusting its own firmness, but at the same time feeling and obeying a divine control. They were not the refuse of society, but men of strong intelligence, and proved integrity, who understood well, and were determined, at the hazard of martyrdom, or a burial in the ocean, to maintain the rights of conscience and the religion of Jesus Christ. They were not—like most adventurers upon a new world—men of doubtful character and loose principles, but of deep and ardent piety; insomuch, that we are told every step of their proceeding was marked by the most solemn and unanimous appeal to the grace and guidance of God—that they encouraged only the virtuous to unite with or follow them—and that they would not allow an individual, not even a servant to embark with them, who was not an humble and approved disciple of Christ. In fine, they were not men of separate interests, associated by avarice or necessity, while each was planning selfish schemes, and dreaming over the wealth, and the lands, and the aggrandizement of another Utopia, for they felt but one absorbing interest—that the religion of Jesus Christ might be preserved immaculate, and its blessing and glory rest upon themselves and their offspring; and, accordingly, like the first disciples, they sold their possessions; the rich and the poor threw every thing into one treasury, and "they had all things in common."

Now there can be but one answer to the inquiry, under what leading influence did these men act?—But for the love of Christ, and the rights of conscience, they had never thought of building a sanctuary in a foreign land; they would have remained at home, and esteemed it no sinful compromise to honour the surplice, or kneel at the sacrament, or wink at the profanation of the Sabbath; they would willingly have cowered beneath the

high tones of mitred authority, and been content, as the end alike of their troubles and enjoyments, to be "gathered to their fathers." It was not that they were opposed to the religious establishments of Britain, for they honoured and loved them; and before and after their emigration repeatedly sued for their protection and prayers:—it was not that they were hostile in their feelings or principles to the church of England, for they were not: they were even disposed to retain in general the diocesan form of episcopacy; and at their first coming over, as well as at other times, "they did in a public and printed address, call the church of England their dear mother, desiring the pious members of that church to recommend them to the mercies of God in their constant prayers, as a church springing out of their own bowels."[1]—But it was because they could not bear the yoke of domination, which the prince and the prelates of that church would fasten upon their necks—it was because they desired to have the church thoroughly reformed, and restored as far as possible, to its primitive purity, that they were called, by way of obloquy, Puritans—it was because they could not swear to the conscientious observance of canons and ceremonies, which were the very refuse of popery, and confessedly of human appointment, that they were persecuted, disqualified, and put to death or sentenced to perpetual banishment:—it was because Bancroft and Laud, instead of Cranmer and Abbot, wore the episcopal crown:—in fine, it was because the intolerant king James had said in his star-chamber, "let not Puritans be countenanced," that these Puritans took their resolve, and loosened from their hearts' hold the ties of nature and affection, and went out, like Abraham, "not knowing whither they went." It was piety and virtue

[1] Mather's Magnalia, vol. I. pp. 228—9.

escaping before the face of bigotry and an armed persecution; "it was indeed," as it is finely expressed, "an humble and peaceable religion, flying from causeless oppression:—it was conscience attempting to escape from the arbitrary rule of the Stuarts."

The *second point of observation* at which we are to view these Pilgrims is one that exhibits the influence of religion upon their character and conduct in a very different, though equally interesting light.

They had bid adieu to their friends and brethren in Holland:—on the broad strand at Delph-Haven, with the ocean breaking before them, they had sunk on their knees, while the humble and eloquent Robinson, with strong crying and tears, commended them to the grace and power of Him who "maketh the clouds his chariots, and rideth upon the wings of the wind." They had also bid adieu to England, and seen for the last her white cliffs in the distant horizon. They had been buffeted by many adverse winds and fierce storms; and after sixty days of perilous struggling with the elements, they thought they must return, for their vessel was shattered, and their hearts failed them for fear of an unknown coast in the depth of winter. But "the Lord was with them; the God of Jacob was their refuge." And when they found themselves nearing the continent, their hopes revived, their resolution returned; and while they bless the God of heaven for his protection, they begin to think of another country—of another home.

And this is the point at which we must view them—before they landed, and while yet exposed to all the dangers of a bleak and barbarous shore, and the anger of a wintry sky. The 11th of November, 1620, was also *a day of fasting and prayer;* and it was marked by

an event which has no parallel in the annals of the world. On that day a nation was born; on that day *the Pilgrims formed themselves into a perfect community*, social, civil, religious. The fact is thus stated by one of their annalists. "Being thus beside their intention brought to the New-England coast, where their patent gave them no right nor power, they were in a sort reduced to a state of nature; and some of the strangers received at London, dropping some mutinous speeches, as if there were now no authority over them —this people, therefore, before they landed, wisely formed themselves into A BODY POLITIC, under the crown of England, by a solemn contract in the following terms, to which they all subscribed their names:

"In the name of God, amen: we whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, &c. having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names," &c. &c.—*Prince's Annals*, vol. 1, p. 84.

In the structure and adoption of this instrument we admire the wisdom, the foresight, the unanimity, the

piety of these Pilgrims, while as yet their home was on the deep, and every billow that broke around them cried, that they were aliens, and had no country! Their patent was void, for it contemplated a settlement some hundred miles distant; they were beyond any known jurisdiction; they anticipated the results of jealousy and division among themselves;—and with a kind of prophetic feeling, which looked as much at the hazards, as at the promises of a favourable issue, they combined themselves into a civil community, elected their governor and other officers, and were in fact a complete republic. By this religious and voluntary compact, their social regulations were settled—their civil polity arranged—and their ecclesiastical order established.

And where do we find on the pages of history a fact like this?—the record of a company of emigrants so employed?—or of an empire thus originated?—When they commenced their enterprise, it was under the sanction of a royal charter, contemplating only the purposes of trade; but now they were ready to disembark a self-governed and independent people:—when they left Leyden it was for some restricted territory on the banks of the Hudson; but now, by the right that discovery and possession give, they were ready to become the lords of a land of liberty:—yesterday they were but a feeble band of colonists, fleeing for conscience sake to another country; to-day they are a distinct republic—the perfect germ of a mighty nation is developed, and is now ready to be planted in a soil that had not been trodden before, and in an air that had not been breathed before by civilized man. This was the influence of religion! it was because they loved the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith, more than the praise of men—liberty of conscience more than the affections and blessing of a mother country, that they

became first pilgrims—then a republic—and at last an empire!

As might be supposed, the result of this compact, entered into so unanimously, so religiously, was the happiest possible. For "at the moment of their landing," if I may adopt the language of their most eloquent panegyrist, "they possessed institutions of government and institutions of religion: and friends and families, and social and religious institutions, established by consent, founded on choice and preference, how nearly do these fill up our whole idea of country! The morning that beamed on the first night of their repose, saw the Pilgrims already established. There were political institutions, and civil liberty, and religious worship. Poetry has fancied nothing, in the wandering of heroes, so distinct and characteristic. Here was man, unprotected indeed, and unprovided for, on the shore of a rude and fearful wilderness; but it was politic, pious, and educated man. Every thing was civilized but the physical world. Institutions, containing in substance all that ages had done for human government, were established in a forest. Cultivated mind was to act on uncultivated nature; and more than all, a government and a country were to commence with the very first foundations laid under the divine light of the Christian religion. Happy auspices of a happy futurity! Who would wish that his country's existence had otherwise begun? Who would desire the power of going back to the ages of fable? Who would wish for an origin obscured in the darkness of antiquity? Who would wish for other emblazoning of his country's heraldry, or other ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say, that her first existence was with intelligence—her first breath the inspiration of liberty—her first principle the truth of a divine religion?"

We come now to the *third point of observation*, illustrating the influence of religion upon the Pilgrims, and inquire how that influence has resulted in the subsequent and present condition of New-England.

We look at them as they appeared on the day of their landing at Plymouth. The 22d of December, 1620, was also *a day of prayer*, mingled with thanksgiving to God. Like the patriarch, when he descended from the ark, after having been rocked and driven for many months upon a boundless deluge, they built an altar unto the Lord, and offered a sweet and holy sacrifice. They had escaped the perils of the sea, and they knew how to be grateful. Nor did it diminish their gratitude or check the fervor of their prayer, that they found themselves in the midst of new and more surprising dangers: a horrid wilderness stretching around them in illimitable extent, and inhabited by wild beasts and more savage men—the severities of a wintry latitude, rendered more terrible by the ice and the storms of December—the ravages of a fatal disease, thinning their numbers and multiplying around them the graves of their children and companions, and while there was nothing to screen the dying from the tempest and the sky—a scarcity of provisions that an unsubdued soil refused to supply, and that the winds of heaven might refuse to bring from their native shores—the poignant recollections of home, and kindred, and country, three thousand miles distant:—under all this complicated misery they were content, for they had identified themselves with the destinies of religion; they were self-justified, for as the witnesses of conscience and of truth they had fled into the wilderness; and they were safe, for they put their trust in God and "abode under the shadow of the Almighty;" and while their fervent, thankful prayer "entered into the ear of the Lord of

Sabaoth," there descended upon them "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge, and the fear of the Lord." These very circumstances of extreme danger and distress did but make them more rejoice in their self-sacrifice;—did but gird them up to higher resolutions, and put them more completely upon their last and best resources, intelligence and piety and the guardianship of God.

Mark the results: on that day they felt the firm earth, and for weal or for woe adopted it as their country;—they wept over the graves of their fellow-pilgrims, and resolved to repose by their side;—they looked off to the surrounding hills and snow-clad ranges, and felt that these must henceforth be their horizon;—they surveyed the deep and frowning forest, with its savage tenantry, and resolved to subdue and make it the abode of pure and undefiled religion;—they looked along the far-sounding shore, and resolved to explore its depth and islands, and point out to their children the places of cities and the marts of commerce;—they looked up to the broad heavens, where dwelt their covenant God, and in prayer resolved to build him an house for his worship, wherever, under those heavens, like Moses, they escaped from the sword, or like Jacob, they rested on their pilgrimage!

Nor were these the only results of that day's conference and prayer; for these were rather the general resolutions and anticipations, which mingled with the realities of that day, and made what would otherwise have been unimportant of singular moment. We have said that when they landed they were a complete and well ordered community, and that religion was the ruling motive of their compact. All the regulations essential to their social union, their civil and religious order,

were already made, and required only to be carried into effect. And they were carried into effect without delay. On the 22d of December, 1620, the system began:—families were arranged—government was administered—God was worshipped. Every thing pertaining to their establishment assumed the aspect of piety; every individual acknowledged the supremacy and submitted to the sanctions of religion; for they wanted, and therefore enacted, no other. And in this respect they doubtless approached nearer to the scriptural patterns of a perfect community than any body of men that have ever assumed the forms of government and religion. They took their exemplar, partly from the ancient theocracy, as it existed in its purest state, in which religion was the object of every social and civil regulation; and partly from the constitutions and canons of the primitive church, as delivered to us by the apostles, in which also religion was the object to which all others were made subservient. And we may well say with one of the writers of those days, "what a wonderful work of God was it, to stir up such worthies to remove themselves and their wives and children from their native country, to come into this wilderness, to set up the pure worship of God! men fit for government in the magistracy, and sound, godly, learned men for the ministry!" "And I take notice of it," he further says, "as a great favour of God, not only to preserve my life, but to give me contentedness in all our straits; insomuch that I do not remember that ever I did wish in my heart that I had not come into this country, or wish myself back again to my father's house. The Lord Jesus Christ was so plainly held out in the preaching of the gospel, and God's Holy Spirit was pleased to accompany the word with such efficacy to many, that our hearts were taken off from old Eng-

land, and set upon heaven. The discourse, not only of the aged, but of the youth also, was not, how shall we go to England, but how shall we go to heaven?"

It is comparatively of no importance to us, what were the previous fortunes of these men, or what the peculiar circumstances of their settlement, further than we can trace from them consequences affecting the character and fortunes of their descendants. But such consequences we do trace, and they are matter of daily consciousness and daily rejoicing. The only difference made by the lapse of two hundred years has been to give direction to the stream that burst from the Rock of the Pilgrims, and deepen its channel and swell its tide. Indeed, every view we can take of the causes leading to the present character and condition of the New-England people, carries us back through an unbroken chain to the settlement at Plymouth; and it is surprising to see how radically the fortunes of the present generation of their descendants, and the prospects of this country, as they open before us, have been made to depend upon the operation of pious principles in that early and feeble establishment. There is scarcely a principle of government or of civil polity—of religion or of morals, that enters into our now consolidated system, but may be traced back through slight variations to a deep spring-head at Plymouth. The changes that have intervened have not, as they often do, annihilated the first fabrics of religion and government:—there has been no return of barbarism—no destruction of liberty and law—and no retreat from the grand principle of religious freedom, that "every man has a right to worship God according to his conscience." On the contrary, there has been an advance—a steady march of intellectual and moral improvement; and what formed the bones and sinews of that infant republic, so much "afflicted, tost with

tempest and not comforted"—so long cradled between the forest and the ocean—so often wakened by the yell of the savage, and exposed by a mother, whose tender-mercies were cruel, has but grown into the aspiring strength and manhood of this mighty empire. We see the spirit that actuated the infant—how the first beatings of its heart were piety—and how its first breath was liberty; for the same spirit, though not so purely, now actuates the man.

Much more of detail than we can now pursue would be necessary to present in the strongest light the influence of religion upon the character and conduct of the Pilgrims, at and subsequently to their settlement, and to show how that influence has resulted in the present condition of New-England, and of every section of our land where the institutions of New-England have been adopted. A brief sketch must suffice.

Of the *social order* established by the first settlers of New-England, religion was the grand characteristic. The subordination of children, and their qualification for the various stations and engagements of life,—the obligations and duties of the marriage contract—the instruction and government of servants—all that pertained to the family economy, and the relations and habitudes of society, proceeded upon Christian principles and the authority of the Bible; and the common intercourse of friends and neighbours resembled, in kindness and decency, the communion of a primitive church. They were, in truth, but one great family, having a common interest and common property, always subservient to piety as the end of social order. Upon the principle of having all things in common, there was in reality but one freehold, until, by the increase of emigration from abroad, it became necessary for the governor and his counsellors, by general con-

sent, to make a division of lands, and an apportionment of one or more acres to each family; and thus they became a nation of independent freeholders. Further to prevent the danger of individual aggrandizement, they refused to recognise the ancient laws of entail, so injurious were they esteemed to social happiness, and with more than the wisdom of the Spartan, provided that intestate property should be equally shared by the children of the deceased. Many have been the praises of their moral purity. Crimes which are frequent, and excite little abhorrence in the best states of society that we know, are recorded by them as singular and strange events. They tell us of the first duel that was fought—though by servants merely—as an offence shocking to morality, and requiring an exemplary punishment. But beside the internal evidences of their morality, leading us to suppose, as their annalist says, that "there never was perhaps before seen such a body of pious people together on the face of the earth," there are other testimonies of highest authority. The magistrates of Leyden, who were rather inimical than friendly, reproving the Walloons in open court, thus said: "these English have lived now ten years among us, and yet we never had any accusation against any one of them: whereas your quarrels are continual." And the following declaration was made in a sermon before the House of Lords and Commons and the assembly of divines at Westminster, concerning the New-England settlements: "I have lived in a country seven years, and in all that time I never heard one profane oath, and in all that time I never did see a man drunk in that land."

Their morality was such as flowed from the pure and blameless profession of Jesus, and it acknowledged no other standard—no other obligation than the gospel precept. The consequences were such as might be sup-

posed. The same powerful influence was felt by each rising generation, and the impulse then given to the moral sentiment and feeling of New-England remains unexpended to this day. God grant that it may remain for ever!

We all know, my friends, for we have felt in a greater or less degree the influence of those social habits and forms of intercourse, founded on gospel principles, which began with our fathers, and have continued in a good measure to the present period. Innovations have indeed taken place upon the manners and moral taste of those times; and some for the better, and many for the worse. So that it remains a question with their descendants, whether more has not been lost by such changes, in simplicity and godly sincerity, than has been gained by the inroads of foreign customs and opinions, and what is often falsely termed the progress of knowledge and civilization.

Of the *civil polity*, adopted by the Plymouth Colony, religion was the motive and end. Their governor and his counsellors were chosen because they were men of piety and exerted the greatest religious influence upon the community, as well as because they were men of intelligence and command. Their laws and civil ordinances always assumed that they were a Christian people: and were designed to make every thing subserve the spiritual and immortal interests of men. Their legislative acts and proclamations, while they acknowledged the equal rights of conscience, and appealed to the word of God as the only rule of faith and practice, always told that they were a Christian people: and we add, if the governors and legislatures of our day, without exception, followed the example, they also would magnify their office in the eye and the heart of some distant generation. In what country, except New-

England, have we ever heard that the civil authorities assembled a Synod of the churches, and addressed to them for their prayerful consideration and advice such questions as these?—"What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to send his judgments on New-England? And what is to be done, that so these evils may be reformed?"

Might we not here pause to regret that a disposition has long prevailed among many in New-England and elsewhere, to separate as widely as possible the very appearance of religion from the offices and acts of civil government? I would only remark, however, if it be true, as our fathers thought, that religion is essential to the existence of a wise and good government, those who would banish the Bible from the halls of legislation, or clothe with executive power the contemners of practical Christianity, not only commit a sacrilege on the memory of the wisest and the best, but become morally responsible to posterity for a train of consequences which the mind shudders to contemplate, and deserve to have their name blotted out from the records of time, and from God's "book of life!"

While we are reviewing the civil polity of the Plymouth Colony, we cannot fail to notice the interesting fact, that the direct influence of religion upon their minds gave birth to the first government of principle that ever existed upon earth. Thence sprang the germs of civil liberty and enlightened jurisdiction that have since expanded into our charters of government and the federal constitution:—instruments that are now the wonder of the world; insomuch that at the present day not a colony struggles into being, or a nation breaks the yoke of a despot, but ours must be the model of their constitution. And no wonder, for it must be so, that in the progress of religion and knowledge, the na-

tions of the earth and the islands of every sea will welcome those principles of civil and religious liberty, which our fathers held at so dear a sacrifice, and in which we, their national offspring, now singly and gloriously triumph!

As it respects *the religious institutions* of the Pilgrims, little need be said either in praise of what we must admire, or in vindication of what some may deem erroneous. Their consistent profession as Christians—a profession so universal, that whoever failed to make it, was regarded as a kind of outlaw, unworthy of civil trust and private confidence;—the covenant engagements by which they bound themselves as members of the church, and which rested upon the most benevolent and catholic principles;[1]—the order of their public and private worship, allowing no secular interference, and marked by simplicity and solemnity;—their peculiar reverence for the Lord's day, which was among their first and declared motives for abandoning the old world, and which they cherished and guarded with the utmost care and strictness;—and their maintenance of the gospel in its ordinances, and ministers, and discipline, for the enjoyment of which they remitted no exertions, regretted no sacrifices—building churches, when their own dwellings were scarcely tenable, and supporting two pastors, when, as we should now judge, there was not half provision for one;—their constant appeal to the holy scriptures in every species of controversy and every question of duty;—their frequent days of public and solemn prayer, with fasting or thanksgiving, in reference to the overruling providence and sovereign grace of God;—these and a thousand minuter things show what were the spirit and form of their religious institutions.

[1]Appendix, Note A.

Their immediate and more distant descendants felt the predominant influence of these institutions. We may notice among other important results, the astonishing multiplication of churches, composed of their own number, and increased by successive emigrations from abroad:—the singular success that attended the labours of their missionaries among the Indian tribes;—and above all, the frequent and powerful revivals of religion that pervaded the New-England settlements during the first century, and that now distinguish that happy country as the most favoured residence of the Holy Spirit.[1]—But upon these topics we cannot dwell.

Whatever objection may seem to lie against them as wanting the principles of toleration,[2] that are now held in protestant countries, or to speak more correctly, as departing in certain cases from the principles they professed to maintain, and as appealing unadvisedly to the providence of God, is weakened, if not removed, by the consideration that their errors were not those of principle, but of passionate zeal; and that they are to be ascribed to the spirit of the times and the remains of "antichristian darkness," and not, as those say who would fix a brand of infamy upon the only community that was ever formed on Christian principles, to the spirit of their religion. I regret to add, that even in these days of boasted light and catholic feeling, and when an apology is demanded for the conduct of the Pilgrims, there are those who still retain the intolerant spirit of those persecuting and burning days, and who still appeal to the providence and judgments of God with a zeal as unadvised and passionate as made the disciples of old say, "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them?"—

[1] Mather's Magnalia, Gillies' Collections, &c.
[2] Note B.

But it is not my design to dwell upon the imperfections of our fathers;—though I might, in order to show how far, in the particulars above alluded to, as well as in others, their posterity have improved. Neither would I dwell upon the abuses of their religious institutions, which have occurred among their descendants,—nor of the departures from the purity of their faith and practice, which they feared and prophesied, and which are to-day the reproach of New-England;—though I might, in order to impress the duty of retracing our steps, and of superadding to the pure and fervent, the simple and primitive religion of our fathers, all that has been gained by two centuries of progress in the light and influence of Christianity.

Thanks be to God, in this era of their posterity the religious institutions of the Pilgrims for the most part remain!—You, dear friends, have had the same sensations of sacred pleasure that I have, when in the land of your ancestry you have noticed the traces of the order in which they worshipped, or felt a deeper reverence for the Sabbath they so devoutly kept, or heard how the Spirit has been poured out from on high in answer to their prayers:—when you have seen the churches they built, now moss grown and crumbling with age, or the monuments they reared over their faithful and beloved pastors:—when you have almost invoked their sainted spirits to bless you and your children, or stooped to write their epitaph on the unambitious gravestone, "*the memory of the just is blessed.*"

There is one other subject that engaged the feelings and exertions of this extraordinary colony, and upon which we may dwell with increasing interest, and with fewer regrets for the delinquency of their children, viz. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. With them it was a first prin-

ciple, that knowledge was essential to piety and virtue; and they were anxious to show against the prejudices and bigotry of the times, that "religion was the best friend to science."

We can only suggest a few topics illustrative of the zeal our fathers manifested on the subject of religious education in all its forms, leaving you to pursue them more in detail, and trace their results through the intellectual history of New-England from their first colonial laws to the present state of literature and religious knowledge.

We notice first their singular attention to *family instruction.* Not a child or a servant was suffered to grow up ignorant of the elements of knowledge, or unable to read his catechism and Bible: indeed, in less than twenty years after the settlement it was made a penal offence "if any did not teach their children and apprentices so much learning as to enable them to read perfectly the English language." The consequence of this was, that in every succeeding generation no one was necessarily destitute of the means of knowledge: and at this day, while in Britain, the most enlightened portion of the old world, but *one in fifteen* possesses this advantage, it is fully enjoyed by *every child* that is born in New-England.

The next feature in their system we notice, was the early establishment of *public or district schools.* These were regularly organized in less than fourteen years after the settlement; and soon became matter of legislation. "Forasmuch," says the General Court of the Colony, "as the maintenance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of societies and republics, this Court doth therefore order, that in whatever township of this government, consisting of fifty families or upwards, any

meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar school, such township shall allow at least twelve pounds, to be raised by rate, on all the inhabitants." And hence arose that powerful and wide-spreading system of district schools, and grammar schools, and subsequently of free-schools,—not left to depend for their existence on chance or charity, but established or regulated by law,—which has made the mass of the New-England population the most enlightened upon earth.

From the same zeal for intellectual improvement, as essential to the prosperity of religion, arose the extraordinary efforts they made from the beginning to furnish the church with a *learned as well as pious ministry*. With the primitive Christians it was a first object to establish seminaries for the qualification of those who should succeed the apostles; and well might the apostate Julian boast, that if he could destroy these institutions, he would destroy Christianity itself. Our fathers felt the same anxiety because they rightly judged that if knowledge failed in the prophet, gross darkness would cover the people. Nor was their anxiety vain. In a number of instances on record, feeble parishes did what in these days large towns feel unable to do: they supported two pastors at once—one to preach, and the other to teach individuals and families the truths of the gospel. The first ministers of New-England were among the best educated as well as pious of their times. Many of them were men of deep research, of high intellect, and powerful eloquence. In the more important branches of theological learning, especially, they were not excelled by their contemporaries: and though many of them were denied the advantage of foreign universities, we are ready to think that privation has been more than compensated by an originality and freedom of inquiry, which would not have been tolerated

beyond the waters, and which, their enemies being judges, have thrown a stronger light upon many of the great truths of Christianity. It is now an acknowledged fact, that no country on earth is so well supplied with able instructors in all branches of learning, and so much blessed with a learned and faithful ministry.

In order to supply the church with able pastors, private instruction was soon found inadequate, and a resort to foreign universities impracticable. Hence the early foundation and endowment of *colleges;* having for their grand object—a fact that ought never to be forgotten—the education of a learned and pious ministry. Need I mention what claims to be called the University of New-England, founded at Cambridge within eighteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims, and Yale, and Dartmouth, and several other similar institutions, which have trained up many hundreds to bless their generations, and to "shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever?"

We may add to these plans of religious education the prodigious efforts, made in the very infancy of the colony, for the *civilization and conversion of the Indians.* It was one of their leading motives in coming to America, as they said, "to lay the foundation of extending the kingdom of Christ to the remote ends of the earth." Their labours were blessed. In a few years thousands of these children of the forest were gathered and settled in regular parishes, and were instructed in the elements of Christian knowledge: many of them became examples of piety; and the second generation after the landing of the Pilgrims, listened to the gospel from the mouth of a multitude of Indian ministers, whose hearts' desire and prayer was, that their brethren might be saved. In the great design of evangelizing the hea-

then world, which is now calling forth the energies of all Christendom, the Pilgrims hold a distinguished place. The lives of Eliot, and Mayhew, and Edwards, and Brainerd, the first apostles to the Indians, are now the standing commentary upon the Saviour's grand commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." They were *missionaries*. They travelled where the only comforts and luxuries of life were such as wild nature furnished to the fowl and to the beast:—they dwelt where, for centuries a race of immortal beings had groaned under the unalleviated curse, had lived without virtue and died without hope:—they laboured where no divine precept or accent of mercy had ever broken the stillness of death, or a Sabbath smiled:—in the heart of a horrid wilderness, they planted the glorious cross! and when their work was done, they laid down their heads at its feet and slept in peace! The dews of heaven came down gently upon their graves: the angels of mercy built them a monument: the stranger from the far country saw it, and the poor Indian came out of his woods to weep over it, and think of the "rest that remained to the people of GOD!" They were missionaries! Blessed be God, their mantle now rests upon a thousand heralds of the cross in both hemispheres, and in the ocean's farthest isles!

These things, my hearers, shew the principle and spirit of our fathers on the subject of religious education; and they shew also what the influence of their zeal in the cause of knowledge and religion has been upon the character and condition of their posterity, whether at home or abroad. "Christo et Ecclesiæ," was inscribed upon all their institutions and all their efforts. And this is the reason why for nearly a century the literature of America was almost confined to

New-England; why the descendants of the Pilgrims have been blessed with so much social felicity, with so much civil eminence, with so many revivals of religion, with so many religious institutions and seminaries of learning, with such a profusion of the richest favours that a discriminating Providence can bestow upon a people! This is the reason why they are now the most intelligent, the most politic, the most happy, the most pious people upon earth; and why they have exerted, and will continue to exert such a mighty influence upon the destinies of America and of the world! It is because RELIGION WAS THEIR MOTIVE, THEIR MEAN, AND THEIR END!

Now let us go back again to the rock, where the Pilgrims first stood, and look abroad once more upon this wide and happy land, so full of their lineal or adopted sons, and repeat the question, to whom do we owe it, that "the wilderness has thus been turned into a fruitful field, and the desert has become as the garden of the Lord?" To whom do we owe it, under an all-wise Providence, that this nation, so miraculously born, is now contributing with such effect to the welfare of the human family, by aiding the march of mental and moral improvement, and by giving an example to the nations of what it is to be pious, intelligent, and free? To whom do we owe it, that with us the great ends of the social compact are accomplished to a degree of perfection never before realized; that the union of public power and private liberty is here exhibited in a harmony so singular and perfect, as to allow the might of political combination to rest upon the basis of individual virtue, and to call into exercise, by the very freedom which such a union gives, all the powers that contribute to national prosperity? To whom do we owe it, that the pure and powerful light of the gospel is now shed

abroad over these countries, and is rapidly gaining upon the darkness of the western world;—that the importance of religion to the temporal welfare of men, and to the permanence of wise institutions is here beginning to be felt in its just measure;—that the influence of a divine revelation is not here, as in almost every other section of Christendom, wrested to purposes of worldly ambition;—that the holy Bible is not sealed from the eyes of those for whom it was intended;—and the best charities and noblest powers of the soul degraded by the terrors of a dark and artful superstition? To whom do we owe it, that in this favoured land the gospel of the grace of God has best displayed its power to bless humanity, by uniting the anticipations of a better world with the highest interests and pursuits of this;—by carrying its merciful influence into the very business and bosoms of men;—by making the ignorant wise and the miserable happy;—by breaking the fetters of the slave, and teaching "the babe and the suckling" those simple and sublime truths, which give to life its dignity and virtue, and fill immortality with hope?—To whom do we owe all this?—*Doubtless to the Plymouth Pilgrims!*—Happily did one of those fearless exiles exclaim, in view of all that was past, and of the blessing, and honour, and glory that was yet to come, "God hath sifted three kingdoms, that he might gather the choice grain, and plant it in the wilderness!"

But I have done:—not because the theme is exhausted, for you see how it swells immeasurably—how it peoples all the region of thought and feeling—how deeply it enters into the present condition and character of New-England and her sons—how it spreads out like heaven's clear and merciful light over all this happy country, and with the visions and prophecies of a holy patriotism, fills the abyss of future times!—I leave you

to judge whether I have estimated too highly the influence of religion upon the spirit and conduct of the Pilgrims; and whether I have ascribed too much to this influence in accounting for the fact, that in the national panorama this country is now—the world being judges—the brightest, sweetest, holiest spot on earth! I will trust your judgment, because I feel that I have an advocate in your best affections that is not constrained by prejudice or power:—and I will call you once more—it may be the last time before our spirits shall return to the God of our fathers—once more, on these sacred altars, which but for them had never been reared, to leave a memorial of filial piety and gratitude to God. Here let us bless their memory by resolving to follow their examples and to imbibe and perpetuate the humble, the pious, the venerable, the exalted spirit of the Pilgrims!—As we would promote to the utmost the social and religious welfare of this empire and of the world, here let us resolve to hold sacredly, and under the pledge of "life, and fortune, and our sacred honour," transmit to our children's children the great inheritance they have bequeathed! Let us resolve to vindicate our claim to such a parentage by maintaining at home and abroad, in the city and the wilderness, the spirit and form of that religion which reigned so absolutely in the bosoms and counsels of our fathers, and which is the first—the last—the only blessing of mankind! Here, at the close of this holy Sabbath, and in view of a Sabbath that shall dawn upon our children some hundred years hence—and in view also of that Sabbath which remains to the people of God, and which the Pilgrims now keep in felicity and glory,—let us together say, "Blessed be the Lord God, who only doeth wondrous things; and blessed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory:—Amen, and Amen!"

APPENDIX

NOTE A.

The following is the first covenant that was formed and adopted by the church in New-England. Aside from the devout and catholic spirit which pervades it, the document is very interesting, and should be had in remembrance:

"We covenant with our Lord, and with one another: we bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself to us in his blessed word of truth, and do profess to walk as follows, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ:—We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits. We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to reject all canons and constitutions of men in worship.—We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them, but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us. In public or private we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the church, but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours as occasion shall be presented.—We will not in the congregation be forward, either to show our

own gifts and parts in speaking, or scrupling, or in discovering the weaknesses or failings of our brethren, but attend an ordinary call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel and the profession of it slighted by our distempers and weaknesses in public.—We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without, no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.—We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in church or commonwealth, knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits by our irregularities.—We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness, as the bane of any state; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards. Promising, also, to the best of our ability, to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God and of his will, that they may serve him also.—And all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant, made in his name."

Gillies' Collections, vol. I, pp. 331, 332.

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NOTE B.

It has not unfrequently been objected to the first settlers of New-England, that they were destitute of the true spirit of toleration, and that they were no more catholic in their views and feelings than the church from whose domination they fled. That both these allegations are untrue we have abundant evidence; and it is to be re-

gretted that the character of the Pilgrims should still need a vindication from unfounded and illiberal charges. They erred in some instances it is admitted: but their errors arose, not from false principles, but from an accidental and highly provoked departure from the principles they adopted, and, saving in the instances alluded to, always maintained. They erred as a Christian errs who is wrought up to anger until he forgets for an hour that he is a Christian: and while their departure from their own principles in these cases showed that they were not yet emancipated from the spirit of the age in which they lived; it showed also, as by a deeper shading, that they were far before the age in which they lived.

Whoever will read the following interesting charge, given by Mr. Robinson to the Plymouth Colony at their departure from Holland, will no longer remain in doubt about their sentiments respecting toleration and catholicism.

"Brethren, we are now quickly to part from one another: and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows. But whether the Lord hath appointed that or no, I charge you before God, and before his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry, for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident the Lord hath more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches who are come to a *period* in religion; and will go at present no further than the instruments of their first reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw: whatever part of his will our good God has imparted and revealed unto Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but were they now living, they would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they first received. I beseech you to remember it: it is an article of your church covenant, *that you will be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known unto you from the written word of God.* Remember that, and every other article of your most sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth: examine it, consider it, compare it with the other scriptures of truth, before you do receive it. For it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once. And I would wish you by all means to close with the godly people of England; study union with them in all things wherein you can have it without sin, rather than *in the least measure to affect a division or separation from them.*" &c. &c.

Mather's Magnalia, vol. i. pp. 59, 60.

ADDRESS

SAMUEL L. KNAPP

1829

SAMUEL LORENZO KNAPP

(1784-1838.)

Samuel L. Knapp, the author of the life of Webster, was well known as an editor and writer of historical and biographical sketches. He was a native of Newburyport, Massachusetts, a graduate of Dartmouth and by profession a lawyer. His address was given at the celebration of 1829, when was first sung the ode, written by Bryant for the society and often thereafter mentioned in the reports.

Wild was the day, the wintry sea
  Moaned sadly on New England's strand,
When first the thoughtful and the free,
  Our fathers, trod the desert land.

They little thought how pure a light,
  With years should gather round that day:
How love should keep their memories bright;
  How wide a realm their sons should sway.

Green are their bays, but greener still,
  Shall round their spreading fame be wreathed;
And regions, now untrod, shall thrill
  With reverence when their names are breathed:

Till where the sun, with softer fires,
  Looks on the vast Pacific's sleep,
The children of the Pilgrim Sires,
  This hallowed day, like us, shall keep.

ADDRESS

Brethren of the New-England Society,—

TO the city and country of our adoption and residence, we owe all allegiance and fidelity, and all that respect and affection which calls forth our best talents in their service at all times. In peace, we should assist in the cultivation of all the arts of peace, and the charities of life; and in war, stand ready to share in every danger in repelling invasion, to the shedding of the last drop of blood that flows in our veins. Being thus willing, from determination and principle, to be identified with those with whom we live, and act, and enjoy, no one of thought, feeling, taste, or patriotism, would deny us the right and privilege now and then, on proper occasions, of turning with all the yearnings of our souls to our birthplace, and there indulging our affections in contemplating the history of our ancestors, in wandering in imagination among their resting places, or in tracing some conspicuous individual from the cradle to the grave, or passing to the growth of society, the rapid rise of the most valuable institutions, commenced and sustained by our forefathers, with an unequalled liberality, in the days of poverty, hardship, and peril.

Two hundred and nine years ago, this day, a small vessel, of an hundred and eighty tons burden, not much

larger than some of our coasting vessels at this period, on board of which, according to the notions of modern comfort, not more than a dozen passengers could be accommodated for a short voyage, entered the harbour of Plymouth, and from her landed, with the intention of making it a permanent residence, an hundred and one persons. The bleak shores of New-England received this little band of Pilgrims, at this inclement season of the year, after they had been an hundred and sixty-nine days from Holland, and an hundred and seven from England.—The deed was one of daring, and one which could alone have been supported by religion, enthusiasm, and fortitude: their minds were braced up to it; there was something of that glow which beamed from the countenance of the first martyr in every breast of the Pilgrims. They had lived nearly eleven years in a strange land, and had learned to concentrate their mental energies, and to bring them to bear on this one purpose—on finding an asylum, where they could, without being molested, enjoy their religion in their own way.—The whole time of their exile was one continued training for the enterprise, both as to body and mind. Their great leader and patriarch, John Robinson, was a man of true evangelical piety, and of most consummate political sagacity; his religious creed was simple and pure —the doctrines of his divine master. He held in reverence the mighty names of the reformers, but he spurned the thoughts of holding on the skirts of the garments of mortal, sinful man, to raise him to eternal life, and he bade his followers beware of names. His parting blessing to the Pilgrims should have a brighter glory than being written in letters of gold, in temples reared by hands; they should be written on the hearts of every Christian republican. His doctrines were the essence of human reasoning, aided by the lights of reve-

lation. He implored them, in the name of his father in heaven; by all they suffered and by all they enjoyed, to become wiser and better. They followed his principles from love and duty; and every wind that lacerated the branches of the trees they planted, drove the roots deeper into the soil.

The first days of the Pilgrims were dark and sorrowful; before the return of spring, many of them had paid the debt of nature: mourning was in every family, and the cold and snowy bosom of the virgin earth had been consecrated by the ashes of their beloved dead, and hallowed by the hopes of the resurrection and the life to come, before the soil had been turned up for the planting of a single vegetable for their sustenance, or a flower had sprung from it by the hand of cultivation. Forty-four had died before the end of March, and the rest were weary and heavy laden with many cares; but the sickened soul has a communion with God that no language can reach; it rests on the promises of revelation, and has a foretaste of immortality. I shall pass over the struggles, the patience, the fortitude, and all that reliance upon Providence so fully shown in the conduct of the Pilgrims, and look for a moment to causes near or remote, which produced these events—the discovery and settlement of our country.

The settlement of Massachusetts Bay, ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims, was in pursuance of the same great plan of enjoying their own thoughts in their own way. This expedition was on a ten-fold broader scale than the former, with a better digested system of operations, and, of course, was more successfully executed: but those settlers had days of sickness, of heartache, of hardships and trials; but in their march, they cheered the Pilgrims, and made their safety a common cause. The usual view of this subject is, that the set-

tlement of New-England grew out of the religious persecutions in England, after the death of Elizabeth. I am not content with so confined a view, and will venture on a wider range of thought than this; for I consider the discovery and settlement of this country the greatest event in the history of man, saving and excepting the introduction of our holy religion; and I think I see through the vista of history the finger of God pointing to it for six centuries before its accomplishment. The crusades opened the drama; they did indeed exhaust Europe, ignorant and fanatical Europe, of her best blood and treasure; but they brought home many lessons of experience. They learnt much from the virtues of the infidels they went out to extirpate or proselyte.—In the Saracenic character was a sturdiness of virtue, far transcending that which passed well in the Christian world at that time, and that they were far better informed, cannot now be questioned. Every battle and all the bloodshed of the crusades sprung from the excitement which at that period awakened the human mind to action; and out of the sum of human errors were brought many true results. In the year 1453, the Turkish Emperor turned his sword on Europe; and Constantinople, so long the proud seat of the Greek Emperors, fell before his conquering arm. The Christian world was amazed and terrified beyond description: they saw in the standard of the Turk, a meteor, that was to blaze over Europe. Churches were to sink before minarets and mosques; and the alkoran was to supplant the sacred scriptures: but shortsighted man was disappointed most happily in this: the arms of the conqueror went no farther, and the seeming evil produced abundance of good.—The Mussulman drove out, from this ancient and lovely seat of learning, the Greek scholars and philosophers who had long congregated there,

and made them schoolmasters for all Europe. They brought out with them many rich manuscripts, which had been concealed from the greatest portion of the world for ages. Kings, nobles, and sovereign pontiffs contended with one another for the possession of these treasures; but while they were engaged in this noble strife, the art of printing was discovered; and almost faultless copies of the classics were multiplied, until the humblest scholar could enjoy the company of the poets and orators of ancient days, with the same freedom as the potentates of the earth.—From this moment the intellectual world was changed. This invention was at once the sign and the proof, that the world should never again be deluged by a flood of ignorance: not only were the classics disseminated, but the scriptures also were put into every one's hands. The human mind began to throw off its shackles, and a spirit of free inquiry went abroad. Every one was active in the pursuit of knowledge. This was not all: about this time gunpowder, which had been previously discovered, came into general use, in military and naval warfare, and the campaign was now more often decided by science and skill than by mere physical force.

This change in warfare was absolutely necessary to the settlement of this country, in order that the skill of the few should be equal to the strength of the many. This skill saved the New-England colonies in the Pequot war. If printing had not been discovered, in all probability, Columbus would not have received sufficient of the elements of geometry to have assisted him in traversing the Atlantic; and if fire-arms and cannon had not been in use, the handful of Spaniards would not have got a footing on the continent.

The discovery of the new world gave a new spring to human enterprise, opened new trains of thought, new

paths of gain and of information. Man before this period was more dependent on his own thoughts for improvement than afterwards, when by a rapid circulation of books his mind became enriched by the rays of light from ten thousand other minds. Guided by these new impulses, he arose and swept away the thousand little errors of thinking, and grappled with dogmas, which in former days he feared to touch.—The sovereign Pontiff, whose ecclesiastical reign was unbounded by seas and empires, grew more proud by this extent of authority, and more lavish of his wealth, believing that the western world was full of gold.—Still the fulness of time had not come for planting a Colony in New-England. It was necessary not only that man should become enlightened and polished, but that his morals should become stricter, and his reasoning powers made more acute and discriminating, before he could set out upon the doctrine of self-government, and to fix his own articles of belief. The awful responsibility of reasoning for one's self had not been for ages assumed. Scintillations of freedom of thought were seen here and there, when Luther burst in a blaze upon the errors of the Pontiff, the Church, and all who had sustained them. Like other reformers, he was often more zealous than wise, and sometimes labored harder to correct a folly, than to destroy a false principle; but his ends were noble, and his means honest, and primitive. He dared, single-handed, to pluck *the wizard beard of hoary error;* to meet the idols of wealth and power, with reason and scripture, as his only weapons. He wrestled with ignorance and sophistry; fought bigotry; and, unappalled, met tyranny and oppression. With the natural courage of a Cæsar, he united the inflexible spirit of the Christian martyr. His labors were wonderful, and their effects still more so. In imitation of

his divine Master, he entered the temple with a scourge, and drove out the changers of money, the extortioners, and those who daily polluted the sacred fane. But one man, however great his powers, could not reform an age, or correct a church, grown callous and proud, and grasping at still greater sway over the minds of men. Another reformer followed with equal genius, and equal zeal. Luther attacked practices and habits; but Calvin, striving to root out false principles, plunged into the depths of metaphysics, and set the world to reasoning on all abstruse subjects. He came more to reform thoughts and opinions, than acts and deeds; still he was not unmindful of these things. In the ways of God, *the wrath of man shall praise him;* so do his weaknesses, his follies, and his passions; the quarrel between Henry VIII. and the Pope, was another cause of the advancement of true religion. Henry's case proved that all that was done on earth, by man assuming to be holy, was not ratified in heaven; for England flourished notwithstanding all the anathemas launched from the Vatican. After men had begun to reason for themselves in every part of Europe, sects grew up, and boldly assailed the established order of things. Some of them rose in frenzy, and died in shame; but others have continued, and will continue, because they were founded upon immutable principles. Among those who held their faith steadfast and immovable, were our Pilgrim Fathers; for their belief contained what no other creed ever did before—a declaration that it was susceptible of improvement, and with this frank avowal,—that God has more truth yet to break forth from his holy word; and it was their firm persuasion, that new lights would constantly arise, and new and refreshing views of the will of God would be given from the scriptures; that man, as a religious being, was

to be progressive, as well as an intellectual one. I am not making or discussing creeds; but simply saying, that I believe these to be sound principles. The Pilgrims were of the order called Puritans, and of the sect called Brownites; but the great divine at their head conjured them to sink the name, and they did so among themselves, after they arrived in this country; but the appellation of Pilgrims they retained with fondness; for the first child born among them, on these shores, they baptised Peregrine, in allusion to their wanderings.

Thus the moral, intellectual, religious, and political seed sown on these northern shores was as pure and as full of life as any ever sown on any soil in any age of the world. In examining the course pursued by the Pilgrims, every one must be struck with the strong moral honesty in their first intercourse with each other. A community of interests they soon found would not answer their purpose, and they came to an amicable understanding of having separate worldly interests, preserving the integrity of ecclesiastical, legislative, and military power. There were still so few of them for many years, and they were so closely connected in every thing, that they understood each other's minds, dispositions, and course of thinking, as well as acting. They were truly one people, of one heart, and of one mind. Labor gave them muscular strength, and their habits of reasoning upon every thing, taught them sagacity and quickness of thought. The philosophy of man as a thinking and an immortal being, tried by the standard of the scriptures—the nature of governments —the doctrine of equal rights—the duties of rulers—how far obedience to civil institutions should extend,—were constant topics of discussion in the labors of the field, in the chase over the hunting grounds, in the fishing smack, or on their travels in search of their foes.

The constant alarm they were in for their personal safety, and the protection of their dwellings, instructed them in the true grounds of human courage—a confidence in themselves and in one another. Almost any man will fight bravely who is sure of the courage of his associates. They knew with whom they went out to fight, against whom they were to fight, and for what they fought; not only for their own existence, but for their wives and little ones. It was necessity that made them warriors; there was no prince or potentate to reward their valor; no spoil of an opulent enemy to gain and divide; no wreaths of glory; no huzzas of a grateful people were known to them. To fight well, was an every-day duty, and their ties grew stronger by every shock. They were anxious for their offspring, and not for their immediate descendants alone, but for more remote posterity. They wisely came to the conclusion, that a republican government could not be supported without a more than ordinary share of intelligence, and they set about establishing schools on the broadest basis; and declared, that as the community shared in the benefits of a general diffusion of knowledge, they should be at the expense of educating the whole mass of the children. In the seventeenth year of the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, (May, 1647,) they passed this ordinance, the most remarkable on the page of history. It was at once a proud tribute to their ancestors, and a spirited determination of their own, not to suffer their descendants to degenerate. They ordered that every town containing fifty families or householders, should maintain a school, for reading and writing; and that every town that numbered one hundred families or householders, should support a grammar school. The reasons given, may seem quaint at the present day, but I think they are most admirable, and should never

be forgotten. Some have attempted to take from us the honor of first establishing public schools at the common expense; this were a vain attempt: our records show the fact without difficulty, and we know that our records are true. The ordinance was carried into effect, if possible, in a more republican manner than one would expect from the very letter of the ordinance; for when a town was divided into school districts, each district was taxed in proportion to its property, and the school money was divided among the districts, in proportion to the number of persons in it. And this principle, in many parts of New-England, is still extant. The ordinance I referred to runs thus: "It being one chief project of satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the scriptures, as in former times, keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times, by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors; it is ordered," &c. making the requisitions we have mentioned. In May, 1671, the penalty for neglect of this ordinance was increased; and in October, 1683, it was ordered, that every town, consisting of more than five hundred families or householders, should support two grammar schools and two writing schools. At the very threshold of their political existence, a college was founded; and from that time to this, most liberally supported. The system of parish, town, and county government, gave all who strove for it, an opportunity to display their talents in some public way; there was no particular rank aside from the elective franchise, for the aspiring youth to bow to, for office or favor. A man must then have had

regard to the feelings of a virtuous and an enlightened people to rise into power. The government was in its form simple; but there is more wisdom in simplicity, than in complexity.

The machinery of government was understood by all, for there were no concealed wires or hidden springs known to a favored few, but unknown to the mass of the people; and there was but very little party spirit existing among them. The good of the whole was the happiness of each.

For the first century their growth was slow, but solid and hardy. Their numerous wars and their traffic to the unhealthy climate of the West Indies, made great inroads upon the ranks of those just entering, and of those who had just entered into life. The whole community were like that class in other countries in which it has been said, that nearly all virtue and intelligence centres; in the class which has not reached opulence, and yet is above want.—Our forefathers put in no claims for ancestral honors or splendid alliances, but they were justly proud of a pure, honest blood; there were no left-hand marriages among them, and none of the poison of licentiousness, or the taint of crime. The women were as brave as the men, and a heroic mother seldom has a coward son. He who learns his lessons of valor on the knee of her who bore him, never shrinks from tales of fear, told by other tongues. Pure principles, early instilled into the human mind, where there are no evil communications to corrupt them, generally last through life. The other portions of New-England were settled principally by emigrants from the old colony and Massachusetts Bay, and possessed the same characteristics, and have retained them quite as well as the parent states. I am fully persuaded that the links in the great chain of events, in order to make this coun-

try a vast empire of intelligence, of science, of invention, of political wisdom, can as easily be traced since the first settlement of this country, as before that period.

I think it was fortunate that the colonies had different origins as well as different habits in many things, previous to the necessity of their union in the revolutionary contest; for growing up in this separate way, they had no party feuds to settle, no old wounds to heal. The intercourse they had encouraged with each other had been mostly commercial, and commerce brings with it the best courtesies of life; and it is about as strong as any other bond of union, for men will seldom quarrel when a direct and palpable interest is at stake between them.

The good, steady, industrious habits, and correct principles of the first settlers of the New-Netherlands, have been seen and felt in every stage of the growth of New-York. They had a little more than a half century's start when the government of the colony passed into the hands of the English; but Holland as well as England was among the leading nations of Europe, at that time, in learning as well as commercial enterprise; and the union of the Dutch and English was, all things considered, a happy one. There were no hatreds or strifes that grew out of it. It made each a little more emulous to be thrifty than the other, and both prospered the better for it. They were the nearest neighbors to New-England, and no serious misunderstandings ever arose between them.

Virginia was too far removed from New-England ever to have any disputes with her. They moved on in their own course. Virginia, during the time of the commonwealth, protected the royalists: and at the restoration, New-England screened the patriot regicides from royal vengeance.

The nearest neighbors to New-York (the settlers of New-Jersey and of Delaware) were the descendants of those free-born souls, who, ages ago, breathed the spirit of liberty on the mountains of Delecarlia, or shot from the gulph of Finland, in "*their steeds of the Ocean*," as they called their ships of war, and were the terror and admiration of the world. The love of liberty was never lost in them.

The colony planted and protected by Lord Baltimore and his associates, was early tolerant, and for many years in some of the features of its government was as democratic as any one now in the Union. For the first century of their growth, they had but a small commerce; the mother country sent her ships and took off her tobacco, or the vessels of the East came and freighted it for them, or for the merchants in England; the same thing to the grower of the article. This colony cherished the mild arts of domestic life, being but little annoyed by the Indians in the first periods of her history.

Pennsylvania at a later period, was planted in wisdom, and throve by industry, peace, and enterprise: she early saw her own policy and steadily pursued it, up to the time of the revolution, and even then. The farthest southern colonies also knew that they could depend on the North and East in every crisis. In fact, each and all the thirteen colonies had, from their earliest days, been uninfluenced by each other in a direct way; but the history of each was known to the other, and there was a strong sympathy existing between them all, for all believed in their hearts that they must one day unite for great purposes and noble ends, although the impression might not have then been clearly defined to themselves; but all these things gave them great confidence in each other's integrity, sincerity, and

physical and moral courage. The course of events led them to reason on a few great topics in the same tone of feeling. In fact, only one great proposition was at length presented to them, which was,—will you consent to be taxed by the mother country, without being represented in the British Parliament? It is idle at this time of day to talk about any other oppression than the violation of rights. We had fought and bled in the wars of England, but we were volunteers in the cause, and could complain of nothing but want of remuneration. It was the declaration of the British Parliament, that there was a right inherent in that body "*to tax us in all cases whatsoever.*" That was the only just and true ground for war at that time. There were no real grievances, only a few imaginary ones, until we justly met and opposed this political absurdity of the mother country. All the grievances enumerated in the petitions of that day, grew out of our glorious opposition to that principle. The principle once established, the rights of freemen were gone for ever. To oppose this assumption they complained, they reasoned, they made a stand, and they fought. This seemed hard, but it all worked together for good: for had the Parliament of Great Britain, at the precise moment when she made this unconstitutional stretch of power—(I speak of her own Constitution)—passed an act for our entire independence, and as a matter of kindness said, now you are free and independent, and when you can establish a permanent government we will recognise you as a sovereign and independent nation, and enter into treaties with you upon terms of equality, this would have been no gift at all; for the colonies could not have agreed upon a form of government that would have brought out the energies of the nation; some loose league might have been made among them, but nothing like the present

government would have been established. It required a seven years' war; a long period of deep suffering, and that intimacy, which danger and triumph gives, to make these states acquainted with each other: and even all this, severe and heavy as it came upon us, and glorious as our triumphs were, did not bring the people to fix on a form of government; it required six years of national weakness, debt, and confusion, to bring the jealous minds of the people to the adoption of a federal constitution; and after all, this was a matter of compromise, and not precisely such an one as all could have wished. New-England consented to have an odious feature remain in the constitution, merely for the sake of harmony and peace, and commerce, and the operation of enterprise. By this article there are as many representatives of slaves in congress—slaves, the personal property of their masters—as there are, at present, members from Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Rhode-Island. This was indeed, giving up much; but perhaps not more than New-York gave up in another way. Although her commerce then was only third rate, yet her wise statesmen saw that she was to be decidedly the first in America. No one could, for a moment, have doubted the capacity of the State of New-York for business, nor believed that this power would have remained concealed, or be unimproved for any considerable length of time; yet her statesmen and high-minded patriots gave up all these advantages for the sake of union, harmony, and national prosperity.—She has one sixth of the representation, and has paid, and will for a century to come pay, more than one-third of the revenue; or, which is the same thing, it has been collected in this port. I name not these things with any complaint. I should, had I been a politician in those days, have made the same sacrifices, great as indeed they

were, for the sake of seeing a nation rise and take her stand, a high one indeed, which she has maintained to this hour. Every thing was then immolated upon the altar of public good, which could be called passion, prejudice, or partiality. Since this period there have been times of doubt, and danger, but they were not really so dark as they seemed to be. Men of different views and habits have frequently come in collision in our National Assembly, and party feuds became alarming. The fierce denunciations of the few are quite harmless when corrected by the good sense of the many. Make the people virtuous and intelligent, and the little bickerings and impotent bustlings of a few ephemeral, momentary directors, need not alarm the honest and well disposed of the community. We may liken our political agitations,—I speak of the nation at large—to those of the Atlantic ocean; much may be wrecked by the winds and the waves, but these very agitations make the atmosphere more healthy. When any dark forebodings come over our minds on this subject, we should quiet ourselves by increasing our diligence in diffusing intelligence through the land.

We have had some of the best lessons of prudence and forbearance in the course of national instruction, that ever were given. John Robinson, at the threshold, in the odour of sanctity, breathed the doctrines of kindness, love, and forbearance, as the preservers of peace and harmony. Our ancestors profited by these pure and admirable precepts. And the great founder of the city of brotherly love, practised upon them as the promptings of his own mind; and the still greater father of his country urged them with all his weight of character in his farewell address to his people. If this republic should ever perish, it will not be for lack of vision; for she has had line upon line, and precept upon

precept, in every stage of her advancement. We have indeed much to keep us together as a nation. The memory of past sufferings is one bond of union, and should be a strong one. Our mutual wants, so easily supplied by each other, is also a bond of union.—To these should be added the pride of what we have done; the hopes of what we may hereafter do; the visions of glory that come flitting before us, whether we will or not; proud navies traversing every sea; impregnable fortresses stretched along our shores; learned men in every walk of literature and science; institutions of charity, piety, and the arts are springing up around us, among us, and for us, and our posterity—these, all these will crowd upon the mind of every patriot, and produce kindness, forbearance, toleration for little differences of opinion, for a slight dissimilarity of habits —and teach us to sacrifice some fretful prejudices;— and bring us out in the exercise of those virtues which secure national prosperity and happiness.

There are many ingredients in our national elements that promise that we shall not early be dismembered:— we are a people of one language, and this has a wonderful influence in bringing about uniformity of thought and action. We now have, in a good degree, the same methods of instruction; we have in the higher degrees of intelligence the same science and the same literature; and when rightly informed on the same subject, nearly the same feeling. This language of ours has been found capable of embalming the wisdom of the world; it contains much that is original from the deep wells of human thought; many things gathered from the spoils of time. This language is every hour extending its empire retrospectively through all the changes of earth and man, that time has witnessed. Whatever has been known is coming within the compass of the

English tongue; other languages are bounded; ours is on the march from nation to nation, from continent to continent. This fact alone is a sufficient reason for us to conclude that we shall preserve the institutions and the religion of our ancestors. Now and then, our faith is shaken by some chilling breath of infernal philosophy, that comes sweeping over these time-hallowed institutions, and for a while threatening their destruction. This poisonous essence assumes all shapes, from the wily serpent who seduced the mother of the human race to pluck the forbidden fruit, to that of the bearded sage in the sanctity of wisdom; in the form of popular eloquence it is instilled into the mind of youth. The task of unhinging the virtues and the hopes of the world, is not confined to age or sex. There have been enchantresses and syrens in every age and nation to allure and to destroy the fool. Ravished by the first glance, he sees only that part that is beautiful—their deformities to "young eyed wonder," are concealed by a cloud which arises from himself. Fully seen, these teachers, like Sin, would be hideous—

> ——"Before the gates there sat
> On either side a formidable shape;
> The one seem'd woman to the waist, and fair,
> But ended foul in many a scaly fold,
> Voluminous and vast; a serpent arm'd
> With mortal sting."

These reformers would remodel your seminaries of learning; would raze your churches to the ground; *stay the priests of the Lord;* break up the sacrament, or holy bond of marriage; pluck from our hearts the charities of life; obliterate the endearing names of father, son, and brother, with all their charming alliances; and substitute for it, a cold, spurious philosophy, under

the specious names of social systems and general philanthropy. But it would be weakness to keep our eyes fixed on this little dark spot. It is wise to watch the growth of it; but it would not be pious or brave to believe that it would ever overshadow the land. Cast your eye over the whole country; do you not see the best of hearts and the most powerful minds engaged in the best of causes; in building seminaries of learning; erecting edifices to God; in teaching every class of our citizens their rights, their duties, their hopes? And these active, benevolent operations are not confined to our own country and people, but the remotest lands have not only our best wishes, but our best exertions. Our emissaries of charity and religion have gone out from us into all lands, and manifold blessings have flowed and will flow from it. Besides the good the missionaries may do in diffusing the knowledge of the scriptures to those who have not heard the glad tidings of salvation, they will acquire a stock of information in geography and statistics, which when brought home and spread before us, will be invaluable. The knowledge of the various languages these missionaries will acquire, and have acquired, will give a beauty and an expansion to our departments of the humanities unknown before: for in our best seminaries they have heretofore been mostly confined to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

It is a pleasant reflection, that we have sent missionaries to remote isles of the ocean, and to the farthest East, and that Greece has been cheered and sustained by some from among us, in the most perilous hour of her conflict, when she was bleeding at every pore, and her heart was bursting at the neglect of nations; but this is but a small part of the story—for Greece is now receiving light and knowledge from schools set up by

the pious and benevolent of this country. How wonderful the revolution, that our system of public schools should at this hour be rising into notice on the precise spot where Socrates, Plato, and their successors, taught their lovely theories in the loveliest language that man ever formed, or God ever vouchsafed to give to those made in his image.

We are paying, by small instalments, the great debt the world has long owed the Greeks. The Greek torch has supplied the kindling spark for all the altars of learning in the world for two thousand years, passing from hand to hand, from nation to nation; but it had long ceased to blaze on their own crumbling fanes; and once again lighted up there by republican and Christian priests, it may burn as pure and bright as it did when Sappho sung, or when Demosthenes fulmined over the land.

With all these labors of benevolence and philanthropy, of heart and mind, with every sentinel upon the watch tower of our liberties, with a thousand presses at work disseminating knowledge, how can we go back to ignorance and anarchy? Shall it be said in after ages, that avarice and vulgar ambition had seized upon and corroded the heart, and destroyed the life-blood of the republic? Forbid it national pride, forbid it moral principle, forbid it merciful heaven—for there are more than five, aye, more than fifty righteous in the city, and many fathers of the faithful, reasoning humbly, but fervently, with the Most High, that the country should be spared. In the repeated "*horrors of great darkness*," when apathy has fallen upon the land, does not a covenant with God grow out of them? When these alms, and these prayers like the Centurion's, go up to Heaven, is there not a voice from on high, saying, "*fear not, I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward?*"

The flight of time reminds me, that I must return from these general views, and these wide-spread branches of my subject, and come again to the root of the matter—the Pilgrims and their descendants. I love my native land; in this I would not yield a jot to her most favored sons: yet, I am not so doating as to think her without faults. What people ever existed without them? But it would be out of place to name them here—and the few they have, are, to my mind, rather errors of reasoning than of principle. These are easily corrected.

It is said that New-Englanders are found every where. It is true, that the spirit of enterprise which marked the characters of their fathers is seen in them. They early began to emigrate; crossing the Connecticut, they settled Vermont—the youngest branch of the present family; and proceeding onwards, they reached the Genesee, skirted the Lakes, clustered on the Ohio; and from thence, spread far and wide; then descended the Mississippi to New-Orleans; then returned and explored every tributary stream of that Queen of the Rivers, and planted on their borders the seeds of civilization. Wherever they built cabins, something of skill and comfort was to be found; wherever they made what they considered as a permanent residence, industry, neatness, and thrift, were visible, and wherever they reared their children, they brought teachers of elementary learning to instruct them. Wherever they were greeted with kindness, they reciprocated it, in good faith; whenever they met with prejudice, they overcame it by a steady adherence to courteous demeanor, and fair dealing. They often, without forming clans, acted in concert. By the same course of reasoning, they honestly came to the same results. They never cherished, however far removed from home, any of that home-sickness

of an exiled peasant, who mourns over what he has left, incapable of finding resources within himself for happiness, or of devising plans in which the past could, in a measure, be absorbed in the future.

The New-England emigrant is every where an active being, deeply interested in every thing around him, making arrangements for the present, and calculations for unborn ages; but still if you search his heart you will find the love of his birthplace deeply engraven on it; follow the wandering of his imagination, and you will discover that he revisits the scenes of his childhood, and even in his dreams returns to his kindred and friends with true delight. This is all right; these glimpses of our native land, instead of weakening our affections for the places of our adoption, increase and strengthen them. To do all that is incumbent as citizens, and feel all that becomes us as sons, is uniting duty with feeling, and affection with principle. New-Englanders, wherever they may be, will show that they were born for others as well as themselves; that they were educated for no particular place, but belong to society and mankind.

ADDRESS

LEONARD BACON

1838

LEONARD BACON

(1802-1881.)

The speaker for 1838 was that commanding figure among the clergy, Dr. Leonard Bacon. As a youth of twenty-three he had been called to the First Congregational Church of New Haven, a church made perhaps the foremost in New England by the great pastorates of Moses Stuart and Nathaniel Taylor. Leonard Bacon rose to a unique though informal position as leader in a denomination which owns no head, but before that he was prominent in all local matters touching public morality, and was known as a temperance worker when even his moderate, though definite and courageous, views called down obloquy. From his student days he was active in that cause wherein his power was to be the widest. While at Andover he wrote and worked for the Colonization Society, standing by it till convinced it could not solve the problem of slavery. Then, when the pulpit of the North was silent or wavering, he took that difficult position between the ultra-conservatives on the one hand and the abolitionists on the other. With Drs. Thompson and R. S. Storrs as associates, he founded the "Independent," in 1848, as an organ for uncompromising views on this question. For this and for other periodicals he wrote, constantly, articles of masterly English, telling wit, and polemical power. Of the volume "Sermons on Slavery," Mr. Lincoln said that to it he owed much in the forming of his final opinions on this subject.

In 1866, after forty years of service, Dr. Bacon deemed it best for his church that he resign his pastorate. His people, however, made him pastor emeritus, which office he held till his death, often at their desire taking upon him active pastoral work. After his resignation he filled the chair of Doctrinal Theology in the Yale Seminary, and later those of Church Polity and American Church History. On the latter topic there was no one better prepared.

Though born in Michigan, where his father, Rev. David Bacon, the first worker under the Connecticut Missionary Society, was stationed, Dr. Bacon was of Puritan blood, and while yet a lad he came to dwell in Hartford. His education was gained at two of New England's greatest institutions. The church to which his life work was given was the foundation stone of New Haven. Aside from these influences, he must have inherited from his father an intense interest in the beginnings of New England. David Bacon was one of the settlers of Talmadge, in the Connecticut Reserve. He planned the town in detail, on the scheme of the Puritan plantations, and so it still exists, now grown to a model and thriving township. The address given on the Forefathers' Day celebration was made just after the publication of the notable "Thirteen Historical Discourses" on the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of New Haven, and shows, as do these, the student of history, with not a trace of Dr. Bacon's other qualities—those of the intrepid man of action, the eloquent advocate, and the fiery debater. Among his published works, one other on this topic, "The Genesis of the New England Church," and among his hymns that beginning,

"Oh God, beneath thy guiding hand
Our exiled fathers crossed the sea,"

were born of this enthusiasm for the settlers of New England.

ADDRESS

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the New England Society:

IT would be easy for me to exhaust my time and your patience with preambles and apologies. But I throw myself at once upon your indulgence. In calling me to speak on this occasion, as a New England man, you have called me to the New England privilege of speaking my mind; and the brief period which the lateness of your invitation has allowed me for preparation, is a pledge that you will receive with kindness the materials of discourse which I have been able to collect, rather than arrange and combine, from among the results of previous studies. If my discourse seems long, you will remember that "I have not had time to make it short," and will therefore hear me with such patience as becomes the descendants of men who were wont to sit without weariness till the preacher, after the last sands had fallen, turned the hourglass, and entered on the second hour.

First, let us revive our recollections of the causes which led to the settlement of New England, and which gave to the New England colonies a shape, constitution and spirit, altogether peculiar. Afterwards we may proceed to some considerations and statements, tending to exhibit in a just light the character of the

founders of New England, and the civil polity which they established.

When America was discovered by the Spaniards, the tropical regions, from Mexico to Brazil, enjoying a climate without any winter, rich in all the natural means of subsistence and enjoyment, abounding in gold and silver and precious stones, adorned in some places with temples and palaces and populous cities, and inhabited by nations whose half-armed effeminacy, could offer no effectual resistance to the strength of European warriors, clad in iron, and equipped with the terrific implements of modern warfare, presented such a field as was never before opened to human rapacity. In a few years, the Spanish monarchy, by invasion and violence, by cruelty and treachery, had become possessed of vast provinces and rich dependent kingdoms in America. Portugal, then one of the most considerable powers of Christendom, had at the same time laid the foundations of her great western empire. What effect the planting of such colonies, founded in rapine, and moulded by the combined influences of Popery in religion and despotism in government, has had on the progress of the world in freedom, knowledge, and happiness, I need not show in detail. Those colonies and conquests poured back indeed upon the parent empires, broad streams of wealth; and Spain and Portugal with their possessions in the west, were for a few short ages the envy of the world. But all prosperity, whether of individuals or of nations, that does not spring from honest industry and from the arts of peace, brings curses in its train. The wealth which Spain and Portugal derived from their possessions in America has been their ruin. And from the hour in which they, weak and paralyzed, were no longer able to retain their grasp upon their American provinces—from the hour in

which the various countries from Mexico to Brazil became independent, what a sea of anarchy has been tossing its waves over those wide realms, so gorgeous with the lavished wealth of nature. It may even be doubted whether there is, at this hour, in Mexico or in Peru, a more stable and beneficent government, or a more numerous, comfortable and virtuous population, than there was before the atrocious conquests of Cortez and Pizarro. What substantial benefit has accrued to the world from the planting of Spanish colonies in America? What, beyond the benefit of having one more illustration, on the grandest scale, of the truth so often illustrated in history, that to nations, as to individuals, the wages of crime is death.

The success of Spain, and the reports of adventurers who came back to Europe enriched with spoils, excited the cupidity of other nations to similar enterprises. England, among the rest, was ambitious to have tributary provinces in the new world, from which gold and gems should come, to fill the treasury of her king, and to augment the riches and splendor of her nobility. One expedition after another was planned and undertaken, in the hope of acquiring some country which should be to England, what Mexico and Peru had been to Spain. And when in consequence of successive and most discouraging failures, such hopes began to be abandoned; and plans of colonization, and cultivation, and rational commerce, had succeeded to dreams of romantic conquest and adventure—when commercial companies with royal grants and charters, actuated by ordinary commercial motives, attempted to establish settlements in North Carolina and Virginia, and upon the bleak coast of Maine, the disappointments and disasters which ensued, demonstrated that another call, and another sort of charter, and other and higher im-

pulses were necessary to success. Commercial enterprise, cheered by royal patronage, and availing itself of the genius of Raleigh and the adventurous energy of Smith, sent forth its expeditions without success. The wilderness and the solitary place would not be glad for them, and it seemed as if the savage was to roam over these wilds forever.

But the fullness of time was advancing. Other causes, the working of which was obvious to all, but the tendency of which no human mind had conjectured, were operating to secure for religion, for freedom, and for science too, their fairest home, and the field of their brightest achievements.

The reformation from Popery, which Wycliffe attempted in the fourteenth century, and for which Huss and Jerome of Prague were martyrs in the fifteenth, was successfully begun by Luther in Germany, and by Zwingle in Switzerland, about the year 1517—twenty-five years after the discovery of America. The minds of men having been prepared beforehand, not only by the writings of Wycliffe and the martyrdom of Huss and Jerome, but also by the new impulse and independence which had been given to thought in consequence of the revival of learning then in progress, and by the excitement which the discovery of a new world, and of new paths and regions for commerce, had spread over Europe; and the invention of printing having provided a new instrumentality for the diffusion of knowledge and the promotion of free inquiry—only a few years elapsed from the time when Luther in the university of Wittemberg, and Zwingle in the cathedral of Zurich, made their first efforts, before all Europe was convulsed with the progress of a great intellectual and moral emancipation.

The reformation was essentially the assertion of the

right of individual thought and opinion, founded on the doctrine of individual responsibility. Popery puts the consciences of the laity into the keeping of the priesthood. To the priest you are to confess your sins; from him you are to receive penance and forgiveness; he is to be responsible for you, if you do as he bids you; to him you are to commit the guidance and government of your soul, with implicit submission. Life and immortality are only in the sacraments which he dispenses; death and eternal despair are in his malediction. You are to do what he enjoins; you are to believe what he teaches; he is accountable to God—you are accountable to him. The reformation, on the contrary, puts the Bible into every man's hand, and bids him believe, not what the priesthood declares, not what the Church decrees, but what God reveals. It tells him, "Here is God's word; and for your reception or rejection of it, you are individually and directly accountable to God." Thus it was that from the beginning—though princes and statesmen did not always so regard it—the cause of the reformation was every where essentially the cause of freedom; of manly thought, and bold inquiry; of popular improvement; of universal education. When religion, instead of being an affair between man and his priest, becomes an affair between man and his God; the dignity of man as man at once outshines the dignity of pontiffs and of kings. By the doctrine of the reformation, men though fallen and miserable in their native estate, are yet, in the estate to which they are raised as redeemed by Christ, as emancipated by the truth, and as anointed by the Holy Spirit—"kings and priests unto God."

In England—always to be named with reverential affection as the father-land of our fathers—the seeds of truth and spiritual freedom, sown by Wycliffe a hun-

dred and fifty years before Luther's time, were never entirely extirpated. And when Germany and Switzerland began to be agitated with the great discussions of the reformation, men were soon found in England, who sympathized with the reformers, and secretly or openly adopted their principles. But in that country, peculiar circumstances gave to the reformation of the national Church a peculiar form and aspect.

The English king at that period was Henry VIII. He was, for a prince, uncommonly well educated in the scholastic learning of the age; and not long after the commencement of the reformation, he signalized himself, and obtained from the Pope the honorary title of "Defender of the Faith," by writing a Latin volume in confutation of the heresies of Luther. But afterwards, wishing to put away his wife on account of some pretended scruple of conscience, and not being able to obtain a divorce by the authority of the Pope, who had strong political reasons for evading a compliance with his wishes, he quarreled with the Pope, (1529,) and began to reform after a fashion of his own. Without renouncing any doctrine of the Romish Church, he declared the Church of England independent of the see of Rome; he assumed all ecclesiastical power into his own hands, making himself head of the Church; he confiscated the lands and treasures of the monasteries; he brought the bishops into an abject dependence on his power; he exercised the prerogative of allowing or restraining at his pleasure the circulation and use of the Scriptures; and, with impartial fury, he persecuted those who adhered to the Pope, and those who abjured the errors of Popery. The religion of the Church of England, under his administration, was Popery, with the king for Pope.

During the short reign of Edward VI, (1547,) or

rather of the regents who governed England in his name, the king himself being under age, the reformation of the English Church was commenced with true good will, and carried forward as energetically and rapidly as was consistent with discretion. Thus when the bloody Queen Mary succeeded to the throne, (1553,) and attempted to restore, by sword and faggot, the ancient superstition, hundreds were found who followed the protomartyr Rogers, and like him sealed their testimony at the stake; and hundreds more, of ministers and other intelligent and conscientious men, having the opportunity of flight, found refuge for a season in the various Protestant countries of the continent. At the places at which these exiles were hospitably received, and particularly at Geneva, they became familiar with forms of worship, and of discipline, more completely purified from Popery, as they thought, than the forms which had as yet been adopted or permitted in their native country. Among the English exiles in the city of Frankfort, who had the privilege of uniting in public worship in their own language, there arose a difference of opinion. Some were for a strict conformity of their public services to the order which had been established in England under King Edward, while others considered themselves at liberty to lay aside every thing which savored of superstition, and to imitate the simplicity which characterized the reformed Churches around them. These were denominated by their adversaries, "Puritans;" and the dispute at Frankfort in the year 1554, is commonly regarded by historians as marking the beginning of the Puritan party.

When the reign of Queen Elizabeth commenced, (1558,) the exiles returned, expecting that a princess educated in the Protestant faith, whose title to the throne was identified with the Protestant cause, would

energetically carry forward the reformation which had been begun under the reign of her brother, but which by his premature death had been left confessedly imperfect. This expectation was disappointed. The new Queen was more the daughter of Henry than the sister of Edward. She seemed to dislike nothing of Popery but its inconsistency with her title to the throne, and its claims against her ecclesiastical supremacy.

Those ministers who, in any particular, neglected to conform to the prescribed ceremonies and observances, were called "Non-conformists;" and though their nonconformity was sometimes connived at by this or that more lenient bishop, and sometimes went unpunished because of the danger of exciting popular odium, every such minister was always liable to be suspended or silenced; and many of them, though the ablest and most efficient preachers in the kingdom, at a time when not more than one out of four of the clergy could preach at all,[1] were forbidden to preach, and were deprived of all their employments.

The Puritans, it will be remembered, were not a secession from the Church of England; they were only that party within the Church, which demanded a more thorough reformation. Their hopes as a party were kept alive, not only by the consciousness that the force of argument was on their side, with no inferiority in respect to talents and learning; but partly by the growing popularity of their opinions; partly by the favor of those politic and far-seeing statesmen, who, so far as the Queen's willfulness would permit, controlled her government by their counsels; and partly by the prospect that the Queen's successor on the throne might be himself a Puritan.

James Stuart, King of Scotland, became King of

[1] Hallam, Constitutional History of England, I, 270.

England on the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603. As he had reigned over a kingdom thoroughly reformed, and had been educated under influences favorable to the simplest and strictest forms of the Protestant religion, and had often professed in the most solemn manner a hearty attachment to those forms, it was hoped, notwithstanding his known instability of character and his fondness for the pomp and forms of kingly power, that he might be inclined to bring the ecclesiastical state of England, in its discipline and worship, nearer the pattern of the reformed Churches. Accordingly while he was on his way to the metropolis of his new kingdom, he was met with a petition signed by more than eight hundred ministers of the Church of England, praying for the reformation of certain particulars in worship and discipline, but not aimed at all against the principle of prelacy, or the principle of prescribed forms of public prayer. Not one of the least of these requests was granted; on the contrary, the Puritans soon found that the chances of hereditary succession had placed over them as their king, a low minded, vainglorious, pedantic fool, to whom the more than oriental adulation with which courtly prelates fawned upon him, was dearer than the honor of God and the welfare of the people. A specimen of what they might expect under his reign was given, in the imprisonment of ten of the ministers who had presented the reasonable and moderate petition for reform—the offense of presenting such a petition having been declared in the Star-chamber to be "fineable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony, as it tended to sedition and rebellion," [1]—a precedent which, it may be hoped, will not be imitated in these days.

From such persecution, pious and resolute men who

[1] Hallam, I, 406.

loved liberty and purity even more than they loved their native soil, soon began to retreat into other countries. Some had begun to separate themselves professedly from the Church of England, as despairing of its reformation, and to organize themselves independently of the civil state, framing their ecclesiastical institutions according to their own understanding of the word of God. A small congregation of such persons, "finding by experience that they could not peaceably enjoy their own liberty in their native country," removed with their families from the north of England into Holland, and in the year 1610 settled themselves in the city of Leyden; "and there," in the language of one of them, "they continued divers years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet society and spiritual comfort in the ways of God;" "having for their pastor Mr. John Robinson, a man of a learned, polished and modest spirit, pious, and studying of the truth, largely accomplished with spiritual gifts and qualifications to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ; having also a fellow helper with him in the eldership, Mr. William Brewster, a man of approved piety, gravity and sincerity, very eminently furnished with gifts suitable to such an office." [1]

This little Church, after a few years' residence in Holland, finding that in the city of strangers where they were so hospitably received, they labored under many disadvantages, especially in regard to the education of their children, and moved also by "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the kingdom of Christ;" "yea, although they should be but as stepping stones unto others for the performance of so great a

[1] Morton's Memorial.

work,"—determined on a removal to America; and on the 22d of December, 1620, one hundred of the Leyden Pilgrims, including men, women, and little children, landed from the Mayflower, on the rock of Plymouth. Then first the ark of God rested upon the soil of New England, and made it "holy ground." Let the annual return of that wintry day be bright in the hearts of the sons of New England,

> "Till the waves of the bay, where the Mayflower lay,
> Shall foam and freeze no more."

Meanwhile the Puritans in England were striving and suffering in vain. Reluctant, for the most part, to admit the idea of separation from the national Church, they waited and prayed, and struggled to obtain a more perfect reformation. Their cause grew in favor with the people and with the Parliament, for it was felt to be the cause of Protestantism, of sobriety and godliness, and of civil liberty. But the monarch, and those dependent creatures of the monarch, the prelates, appointed by his pleasure, and accountable to him alone, were steady in the determination to have no reform and to enforce submission. Five years after the settlement of Plymouth, King James was succeeded by his son Charles I, who with more gravity and respectability of personal character than belonged to his father, pursued the same despotic policy, in the Church, and in the civil state, which made his father odious, as well as contemptible. His principal adviser was William Laud, a narrow minded and bitter enemy of all who desired any farther reformation in ecclesiastical discipline, a systematic corrupter of the established doctrines of the Church, a superstitious promoter of pomp and ceremony in religion, more a friend to Rome than

to Geneva or to Augsburg, a hater of popular rights and of the ancient liberties and common law of England, and the constant adviser of all arbitrary methods of government. This man, being made bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and having the king almost absolutely under his control, brought the despotic powers of the Star-chamber and of the High Commission Court to bear with new terrors, not only upon non-conforming clergymen, but upon men of other professions who dared to express an opinion in favor of reformation.

In these circumstances, the same spirit that had led the Pilgrims of Leyden to Plymouth, led others, in greater numbers, and with more adequate means, to attempt the establishment of religious colonies in America. Eight years after the settlement of Plymouth, the colony of Massachusetts Bay was commenced by Endicott and his company at Salem; and in 1630, Boston and the surrounding towns were occupied by the illustrious Winthrop and the hundreds of emigrants who followed him. In 1635, the first beginnings were made on the Connecticut river, at Hartford and at Saybrook; in 1636, Roger Williams opened at Providence his "refuge for all sorts of consciences;" and in 1638, another independent colony was commenced at New Haven.

Thus it was that New England was planted. The planting of North America upon merely mercenary and selfish principles had been attempted once and again, and had failed. Our fathers and predecessors came under the influence of higher motives, and of a holier inspiration. They came, actuated by a great and sublime idea,—an idea from the word and mind of God,—an idea that made them courageous to attempt, wise to plan, strong to suffer, and dauntless to persevere. Their

souls were exalted to a perception of the grandeur of their undertaking and of the vast results that were suspended on its success. They were inspired by a living sympathy with the designs of that Almighty Providence, which led them into this boundless wilderness, that for them the wilderness and the solitary place might be glad, and the desert rejoice abundantly with joy and singing. Thus they could write upon their banners those words of Puritan faith and devotion, "In God we hope," "He who transplanted us, sustains us."

Two points in the civil polity instituted by the founders of the several New England colonies, have been the subjects of sharp censure, and of ridicule not always quite so sharp, on the part of those who have not duly considered the character of that age, and the circumstances in which that polity was instituted. I refer here to these two principles—first, that in the choice of magistrates, the making and repealing of laws, the dividing of inheritances, and the deciding of differences, all should be governed by the rules held forth in Scripture; and, secondly, that a man's Christian character, certified by the Church in the fact of his being a church member, should be essential, not to his enjoying civil rights and privileges, but to his exercising civil power. The adoption of such principles as the basis of their civil polity, is considered as proving beyond all dispute that the New England colonists were ignorant bigots and wild fanatics.

If you believe the Bible to be a perfect rule of moral action, you are precluded from taking any exception against the first of these principles, as it has just been stated in the words of an ancient record. If you do not believe in the Bible as a rule of moral action, I confess I am not careful at present to answer you at all in this matter. The principle as it stands is simply

that Christianity—the ethics of Christianity, should be the constitution of the commonwealth, the supreme law of the land.

But give the principle another construction. Take it as it is commonly understood, and as it was actually applied in practice. In 1644, it was ordered by the General Court of the New Haven jurisdiction, (and the same principle was acted upon in the other colonies,) "that the judicial laws of God as they were delivered by Moses, and as they are a fence to the moral law, being neither typical nor ceremonial, nor having any reference to Canaan, shall be accounted of moral equity, and generally bind all offenders, and be a rule to all the courts in this jurisdiction in their proceedings against offenders, till they be branched out into particulars hereafter." Take this adoption of the civil laws of the Hebrew commonwealth, about which malicious hearts and shallow brains have so employed their faculties; and what is there in this, that should make us ashamed of our fathers?—what that proves them to be fanatics or bigots?

Remember now that, situated as they were, they must adopt either the laws of England or some other known system. A system entirely new, they could not frame immediately. Should they then adopt the laws of England as the laws of their young republic? Those were the very laws from which they had fled. Those laws would subject them at once to the king, to the parliament, and to the prelates, in their several jurisdictions. The adoption of the laws of England would have been fatal to the object of their emigration. Should they then adopt the Roman civil law, which is the basis of the jurisprudence of most countries in Europe? That system is foreign to the genius of Englishmen, and to the spirit of freedom, and besides, was

unknown to the body of the people for whom laws were to be provided. What other course remained to them, if they wished to separate themselves from the power of the enemies who had driven them into banishment, and to provide for a complete and vital independence, but to adopt at once a system of laws which was in every man's hand, which every man read, and as he was able, expounded in his family, and with which every subject of the jurisdiction could easily be made familiarly acquainted.

But what was there of absurdity in this code, considered as a code for just such a settlement as this was? Where are we, that we need raise such a question? Is it in a Christian country, that the question must be argued, whether the Mosaic law, excluding whatever is typical, or ceremonial, or local, is absurd, as the basis or beginning of a system of jurisprudence? Suppose the planters of the New England colonies had taken as their rule, in the administration of justice, the laws of Solon, or Lycurgus, or the laws of the twelve tables: suppose the agreement had been, that the laws of King Alfred should be followed in the punishment of offenders, in the settlement of controversies between individuals, and in the division of estates:—where had been the absurdity? Who will tell us, that the laws of Moses are less wise or equitable than the laws of any other of the legislators of antiquity?

The laws of Moses were given to a community emigrating from their native country, into a land which they were to acquire and occupy, for the great purpose of maintaining in simplicity and purity the worship of the one true God. The founders of New England came hither for the self-same purpose. Their emigration from their native country was a religious emigration. Every other interest of their community was held sub-

ordinate to the purity of their religious faith and practice. So far then as this point of comparison is concerned, the laws which were given to Israel in the wilderness may have been suited to the wants of a religious colony planting itself in America.

The laws of Moses were given to a people who were to live not only surrounded by heathen tribes on every frontier save the seaboard, but also with heathen inhabitants, worshipers of the devil, intermixed among them, not fellow citizens, but men of another and barbarous race; and the laws were therefore framed with a special reference to the corrupting influence of such neighborhood and intercourse. Similar to this was the condition of our fathers. The Canaanite was in the land, with his barbarian vices, with his heathenish and hideous superstitions; and their servants and children were to be guarded against the contamination of intercourse with beings so degraded.

The laws of the Hebrews were designed for a free people. Under those laws, so unlike all the institutions of oriental despotism, there was no absolute power, and, with the exception of the hereditary priesthood, whose privileges as a class were well balanced by their labors and disabilities, no privileged classes. The aim of those laws was "equal and exact justice;" and equal and exact justice is the only freedom. Equal and exact justice in the laws, and in the administration of the laws, infuses freedom into the being of a people, secures the widest and most useful distribution of the means of enjoyment, and affords scope for the activity, and healthful stimulus to the affections, of every individual. The people whose habits and sentiments are formed under such an administration of justice, will be a free people.

But it is worth our while to notice two of the most important effects of their renouncing the laws of Eng-

land, and adopting the Mosaic law. In the first place, the principle on which inheritances were to be divided, was materially changed. The English law, except where some local usage prevails to the contrary, gives all real estate to the eldest son. This is the pillar of the English aristocracy. Let this one principle be taken away; let estates, instead of passing undivided to a single heir, be divided among many heirs, and that vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few great families is at an end. But the Jewish law divides inheritances among all the children, giving to the eldest son, as the head of the family, only a double portion. This promotes equality among the people, breaking up the rich man's great estate into as many portions as he has children, and thus insuring the constant division and general distribution of property. How different is the aspect of this country now, from what it would have been, if the feudal law of inheritance had been from the beginning the law of the land! How incalculable has been the effect on the character of the people!

Notice in the next place, how great a change in respect to the inflicting of capital punishments, was made by adopting the Hebrew laws, instead of the laws of England. By the laws of England, not far from one hundred and fifty crimes were at that time punishable with death. By the laws which the New England colonists adopted, this bloody catalogue was reduced to eleven.[1] On such a difference as this, it would be idle to expatiate. In determining what kind of men our fathers were, we are to compare their laws, not with ours, but with the laws which they renounced. The greatest and boldest improvement which has been made

[1] Murder, Treason, Perjury against the life of another, Kidnapping, Bestiality, Sodomy, Adultery, Blasphemy in the highest degree, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Rebellion against parents.

in criminal jurisprudence, by any one act, since the dark ages, was that which was made by our fathers, when they determined, "that the judicial laws of God, as they were delivered by Moses, and as they are a fence to the moral law, being neither typical, nor ceremonial, nor having any reference to Canaan, shall be accounted of moral equity, and generally bind all offenders, and be a rule to all the courts." Whatever improvements in this respect we have made since their day, may be resolved into this:—we have learned to distinguish, better than they, between that in the laws of Moses which was of absolute obligation, being founded on permanent and universal reasons only, and that which was ordained in reference to the peculiar circumstances of the Hebrew nation, and which was therefore temporary or local.

So much for the first principle in the constitution adopted by the fathers of New England, namely, the principle that the Bible should be their rule of justice. As to the other principle, namely, that political power should be committed only to those men whose moral character, and whose sympathy with the great design of the plantation, should be certified by their being members of the Church,—one simple fact which the fathers knew right well, is its only vindication as a political measure. They knew that as soon as they should have built their houses and got their lands under cultivation, as soon as they should have enough of what was taxable and titheable to excite covetousness, the king would be sending over his needy profligates to govern them, and the archbishop his surpliced commissaries to gather the tithes into his storehouse. Knowing this, they were resolved to leave no door open for such an invasion. They came hither to establish a free Christian commonwealth; and, to secure that end, they de-

termined, that in their commonwealth, none should have any civil power, who either would not, or could not, enter at the door of church fellowship. "They held themselves bound," they said, "to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing the purity and peace of the ordinances to themselves and their posterity." Was this fanatical? Was this bigoted? Place yourself in their circumstances, with their convictions of the importance of truth, simplicity, and purity, in the worship of God; and say what you could do more rational or more manly? If we are to regard this provision as a measure for the encouragement or promotion of piety, undoubtedly it must be pronounced a great mistake. Piety is not to be promoted by making it the condition of any civil or political distinctions. This they knew as well as we; and when they introduced the principle in question, it was not for the sake of bestowing honors or privileges upon piety, but for the sake of guarding their liberty and securing the end for which they had made themselves exiles. If you call their adoption of this principle fanaticism, it is to be remembered that the same fanaticism runs through the history of England. How long has any man in England been permitted to hold any office under the crown, without being a communicant in the Church of England? The self-same fanaticism had, up to that time, characterized all nations, protestant or popish, Mohammedan or heathen; nay, as Davenport said, "these very Indians, that worship the devil," acted on the same principle, so that in his judgment "it seemed to be a principle imprinted in the minds and hearts of all men in the equity of it." [1] Call it fanaticism if you will. To that fanaticism which threw off the laws of England, and made these colonies Puritan commonwealths, we are in-

[1] Discourse about Civil Government, 24.

debted for our existence as a distinct and independent nation.

But after all, we may be told, these fathers of ours were Puritans; and this connection between the New England fathers and that fanatical party in their native country, shows what they were. Thus we come to another topic. Well, what and who were the Puritans? Need any man be ashamed of being descended from such ancestors?

There are those whose ideas of the Puritans are derived only from such authorities as Butler's Hudibras, Scott's romances, and similar fictions. There are those, still more unfortunate, who form their opinion of the character of the Puritans from what they read in such works as that most unscrupulous and malicious of lying narratives, Peters's History of Connecticut. With persons whose historical knowledge is of this description, it would be a waste of time to argue. But those who know any thing of the history of England, may easily disabuse themselves of vulgar prejudices against the Puritans.

What were the Puritans? The prejudices which have been infused into so many minds from the light, popular literature of England since the restoration, are ready to answer. The Puritans!—every body knows what they were;—an enthusiastic religious sect, distinguished by peculiarities of dress and language, enemies of learning, haters of refinement and all social enjoyments, low-bred fanatics, crop-eared rebels, a rabble of round-heads, whose preachers were cobblers and tinkers, ever turning their optics in upon their own inward light, and waging fierce war upon mince pies and plum puddings. It was easy for the courtiers of King Charles II, when the men of what they called "the Grand Rebellion," had gone from the scene of action,

thus to make themselves merry with misrepresentations of the Puritans, and to laugh at the wit of Butler and of South; but their fathers laughed not, when, in many a field of conflict, the chivalry of England skipped like lambs, and proud banners rich with Norman heraldry, and emblazoned with bearings that had been stars of victory at Cressy and at Poictiers, were trailed in dust before the round-head regiments of Cromwell.

What were the Puritans? Let sober history answer. They were a great religious and political party, in a country and in an age in which every man's religion was a matter of political regulation. They were in their day the reforming party in the church and state of England. They were a party including, like all other great parties, religious or political, a great variety of character, and men of all conditions in society. There were noblemen among them, and there were peasants; but the bulk of the party was in the middling classes, the classes which the progress of commerce and civilization, and free thought, had created between the degraded peasantry and the corrupt aristocracy. The strong holds of the party were in the great commercial towns, and especially among the merchants and tradesmen of the metropolis. There were doubtless some hypocrites among them, and some men of unsettled opinions, and some of loose morals, and some actuated by no higher sentiment than party spirit, but the party as a whole was characterized by a devoted love of country, by strict and stern morality, by hearty fervent piety, and by the strongest attachment to sound, evangelical doctrines. There were ignorant men among them, and weak men; but comparing the two parties as masses, theirs was the intelligent and thinking party. There were among them some men of low ambition, some of a restless, envious, leveling temper, some of

narrow views; but the party as a whole, was the patriotic party, it stood for popular rights, for the liberties of England, for law against prerogative, for the doctrine that kings and magistrates were made for the people, and not the people for kings—ministers for the Church, and not the Church for ministers.

Who were the Puritans? Enemies of learning did you say? You have heard of Lightfoot, second in scholarship to no other man, whose researches into all sorts of lore are even at this day the great storehouse from which the most learned and renowned commentators, not of England and America only, but of Germany, derive no insignificant portion of their learning. Lightfoot was a Puritan.[1] You may have heard of Theophilus Gale, whose works have never yet been surpassed for minute and laborious investigation into the sources of all the wisdom of the Gentiles. Gale was a Puritan. You may have heard of Owen, the fame of whose learning, not less than of his genius and his skill, filled all Europe, and constrained the most determined enemies of him, and of his party, to pay him the profoundest deference. Owen was, among divines, the very head and captain of the Puritans. You may have heard of Selden, the jurist, the universal scholar, whose learning was in his day, and is even at this day, the "glory of the English nation." Selden was a Puritan.[2] Strange that such men should have been identified with the enemies of learning.

The Puritans triumphed for a while. They beat down not only the prelacy, but the peerage, and the

[1] Lightfoot was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. After the restoration, he conformed to the Established Church.

[2] Selden was one of the lay members of the Westminster Assembly. He was one of the committee impeaching Laud, a noted juridic writer, and master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

throne. And what did they do with the universities? The universities were indeed revolutionized by commissioners from the Puritan Parliament; and all who were enemies to the Commonwealth of England, as then established, were turned out of the seats of instruction and government. But were the revenues of the universities confiscated?—their halls given up to pillage?—their libraries scattered and destroyed? Never were the universities of England better regulated, never did they better answer the legitimate ends of such institutions, than when they were under the control of the Puritans.

Who were the Puritans? Enemies, did you say, of literature and refinement? What is the most resplendent name in the literature of England? Name that most illustrious of poets, who for magnificence of imagination, for grandeur of thought, for purity, beauty, and tenderness of sentiment, for harmony of numbers, for power and felicity of language, stands without a rival. Milton was a Puritan.

Who were the low-bred fanatics, the crop-eared rebels, the rabble of round-heads? Name that purest patriot whose name stands brightest and most honored in the history of English liberty, and whose example is ever the star of guidance and of hope, to all who resist usurped authority. Hampden was a Puritan,—associate with Pym in the eloquence that swayed the Parliament and "fulmin'd" over England, comrade in arms with Cromwell, and shedding his blood upon the battle field.

But their preachers were cobblers and tinkers! Were they indeed? Well, and what were Christ's apostles? One tinker I remember, among the preachers of that age, and of that great party—though not, in the most proper meaning of the word, a Puritan; and what name is more worthy of a place among the

names of the elected fishermen of Galilee, than the name of Bunyan? That tinker, shut up in Bedford jail for the crime of preaching, saw there with the eye of faith and genius, visions only less divine than those which were revealed to his namesake in Patmos. His "Pilgrim's Progress" lives in all the languages of Christendom, among the most immortal of the works of human genius. Would that all preachers were gifted like that tinker Bunyan!

But the Puritan preachers cannot be characterized as illiterate, or as men who had been trained to mechanical employments. They were men from the universities, skilled in the learning of the age, and well equipped for the work of preaching. Never has England seen a more illustrious company of preachers than when Baxter, Owen, Bates, Charnock, Howe, and two thousand others of inferior attainments indeed, but of kindred spirit, labored in the pulpits of the establishment. Never has any ministry in the Church of England done more, in the same time, and under similar disadvantages, for the advancement of the people in the knowledge of Christian truth, and in the practice of Christian piety, than was done by the ministry of the Puritans. Whence came the best and most famous of those books of devotion, and of experimental and practical piety, which have so enriched our language, and by which the authors preach to all generations? The "Saint's Rest," the "Call to the Unconverted," the "Blessedness of the Righteous," the "Living Temple," these, and other works like these, which have been the means of leading thousands to God the eternal fountain,—are the works of Puritan preachers.

Let me not be considered as maintaining that the Puritans were faultless and infallible. I know they had faults, great faults. I know they fell into serious

errors. By their errors and faults, the great cause which their virtue so earnestly espoused, and their valor so strongly defended, was wrecked and almost ruined. But dearly did they pay, in disappointment, in persecution, in many sufferings, in the contempt which was heaped upon them by the infatuated people they had vainly struggled to emancipate,—the penalty of their faults and errors. And richly have their posterity, inhabiting both hemispheres, enjoyed, in well ordered liberty, in the diffusion of knowledge, and in the saving influences of pure Christianity,—the purchase of their sufferings, the reward of their virtues and their valor.

But aside from the constitution of their civil polity, and their relation to the Puritans of England, there are other topics of invective and ridicule against those venerable men who planted the New England colonies, some of which must be noticed, though with the utmost brevity.

Did these men believe in witchcraft? Certainly they did. Probably they never called in question for a moment, the then universal opinion of the reality of commerce between human beings and the invisible powers of darkness And shall they be set down as weak and credulous, because they did not throw off all the errors of the age? Shall the age in which they lived be deemed an age of extraordinary credulity, because it did not rid itself of prejudices and terrors which had been growing in the world ever since the flood? Shall the age of animal magnetism and Maria Monk, take credit to itself because it does not believe in witchcraft?

But I am asked again, Did not these good fathers of ours inflict punishment on the Quakers? I answer, They did,—we admit their error, and condemn it. They did not understand aright the great principles of universal religious freedom. They came hither for

their own freedom and peace; and that freedom and peace they thought themselves authorized and bound to defend against all invaders. The Quakers, however, whom they punished, were not a sect rising up on the soil of New England, and claiming simply the right of separate worship and free discussion. They were invaders who came from Old England to New, for the sole and declared purpose of disturbance and revolution. They came propagating principles which were understood to strike at the foundation not only of the particular religious and civil polity here established, but of all order and of society itself. In their manner of proceeding they outraged peace and order, openly cursing and reviling the faith and worship which the New Englanders had come to the world's end to enjoy in quietness, the magistrates venerable for wisdom and public spirit, and the ministers whose gifts and faithfulness were esteemed the brightest glory of the land. They outraged the religious rights and freedom of those whom they came to enlighten, thrusting themselves into worshiping assemblies on the Lord's day and other occasions, and interrupting the worship or the sermon with their outcries of contradiction and cursing. They outraged natural decency itself; one of their women-preachers, Deborah Wilson by name, "went through the streets of Salem naked as she came into the world;" [1] and in other instances, they came in the same plight into the public religious assemblies; [2] and all to show by that sign the nakedness of other people's sins. I cannot doubt that such people—if indeed they were not too insane to be accountable for any thing—deserved to be punished, not for their opinions, but for their actions; not for their exercising their own rights, but for their invading the rights of others; not for their

[1] Hutchinson, I, 204. [2] Mather, Magn., VII, 100.

publication of offensive and even disorganizing doctrines, but for their outrages on decorum, and their disturbances of the public peace. If we condemn our fathers in this matter, it should be not because they punished such offenders, but because they punished them for heresy.

But let us compare the conduct of our ancestors in this very matter, with the conduct of some in our more enlightened and free thinking age. The real successors of the Quakers of that day—the men who come nearest to those enthusiasts in their actual relations to the public—are not to be found in those orderly and thrifty citizens of Philadelphia, who are distinguished from their fellow citizens in Chestnut Street, by a little more circumference of the hat, and a little peculiarity of grammar, and perhaps a little more quietness and staidness of manner. What we call Quakers in this generation, are no more like George Fox in his suit of leather, than the pomp and riches of an English Archbishop are like the poverty of an Apostle. Do you find these men going about like mad men, reviling magistrates, and all in authority, cursing ministers, and publishing doctrines that strike at the existence of all government? No, if you would find the true successors of the Quakers of 1650, you must look elsewhere. The Anti-slavery agitators of our day, are extensively regarded very much as the Quakers were regarded by our ancestors. Some of them execrate our constitution and our laws, and revile our magistrates, and utter all manner of reproach against our ministers and our churches. Some of them go about preaching doctrines which tend not only to the extinction of the "peculiar institutions" of one part of our country, and the subversion of our "glorious union," but to absolute and universal anarchy. We

cannot indeed charge upon them every thing that was charged upon the ancient Quakers; Mr. Garrison himself has not yet put on the leather jerkin of George Fox; nor have we heard of his attempting, like Humphrey Norton, to break in with his ravings upon the solemn worship of a religious assembly on the Sabbath; nor has Miss Grimke, or Miss Abby Kelly, set herself to testify against the sins of the people, in just the same style with Deborah Wilson. But they have published doctrines highly offensive to public opinion, and as is commonly believed highly dangerous to society; they have invaded Congress with their petitions; nay, it is even reported that they have been seen in public places, walking arm in arm with persons of African descent and complexion. And how are these men treated, in our age of toleration and free inquiry? How are they treated by those who are most fiercely liberal, in the condemnation of our ancestors, for persecuting the Quakers? The answer is found in the roar of mobs and the smoke of smouldering ruins—in presses violently suppressed—in the murder of editors, and the acquittal of the murderers by perjured jurymen. How are they treated in those enlightened regions of the Union, where Puritanism, Blue laws, and New England intolerance, are renounced most fervently and devoutly? Let one of these "pestilent fanatics" adventure on a mission to Mississippi or Virginia, and how much better does he fare than Humphrey Norton fared in Plymouth and New Haven?[1] The "little finger" of a Lynch committee, is "thicker than the loins" of a Puritan magistracy, against the fanatics that make war upon established opinions and cherished institutions.

What then is the chief difference between that age

[1] Kingsley, 99.

and the present, in respect to tolerance, in an extreme case like that of the Quakers? The difference is just this. Our ancestors made laws against the fanatics with whom they had to do, and boldly and manfully maintained those laws. The Quaker who suffered in New England, suffered the penalty of a known law, after a judicial conviction. In our day, on the other hand, laws to limit freedom of opinion and of discussion, are inconsistent with the enlightened and liberal maxims of government, that now so happily prevail; and therefore what the law cannot do, in that it is weak, must be done by the mob, without law and against law, in that high court of equity, where rage, more fanatical than any other fanaticism, is at once accuser, witness, judge, and executioner.

Another topic in the indictment against the founders of New England, is the character and influence of their ministers. The true answer to this is to be found in the entire civil and ecclesiastical history of New England. The History of the United States, now in progress, from the pen of one of the most accomplished scholars of New England, as by the beauty of its style, the philosophic reach of its views, and the epic unity into which the poetic mind of its author combines and blends its variegated materials, it makes its own way, where the humble but not less faithful chronicles of elder time have not been known,—will do much towards refuting the popular calumny. I hesitate not to say that no instance can be found in the history of man, in which the ministers of religion, as a body, have so completely and spontaneously denuded themselves of all power civil and ecclesiastical, as was done by the ministers of New England. They retained in their hands as ministers no power whatever but the power of their learning, their good sense, and their personal

characters. If I had time to show you the full character of John Davenport, and the influence which he exerted in the colony of New Haven, I should have no need of any other argument. But as I cannot do this, you will allow me to give you from the records of New Haven, one scene of his history never yet published.

At a town-meeting,—or as it was called in those days, a general court for the town,—on the 28th of February, 1659, a request was made by the farmers of what is now East Haven and North Haven, for certain grants of land and privileges in order to the establishment of villages, so that they maintaining public worship and other town expenses by themselves, should not be taxed for such expenses in the town, and should have the power of taxing all the lands within their limits whether belonging to themselves or non-residents. The application was of course resisted on the ground that this setting off of new parishes would increase the town's taxes, and would diminish the ability of the people to support the ministry. It was obvious that the inhabitants of the town had an immediate pecuniary interest against the petition. The petitioners seem to have thought—reasonably enough—that by having such privileges and forming distinct parishes, each with a village at its center, they would not only be relieved from the very serious inconvenience of coming into town every Lord's day, and every training day or town meeting day; but would be able to give more value to their lands, and to get a more competent subsistence. The proposal seems to have been something like an effort on the part of a body of men of inferior condition, to obtain such a change as would put them more completely on a level with the merchants and capitalists of the town. In other words, it was what would now be called a movement of the democracy. One of the

farmers said, "it was well known that at the first they were many of them looked upon as mean men to live by their labor; therefore they had at first small lots given them; but they finding by experience that they could not in that way maintain their families, they were put upon looking out."

On this occasion, Mr. Davenport took the lead in the discussion. He addressed the meeting immediately after the proposal had been stated; and in opposition to what most would regard as the town's pecuniary interest in the case, in opposition to the feeling, how shall the support of the ministry here be secured, and in opposition to the natural reluctance with which towns as well as individuals give up any particle of power, he argued strenuously for the extension of these privileges to the farmers. His arguments are so characteristic not only of his piety, but of his good sense and of his political wisdom, that they are worth repeating at length, as we find them on the records.

"The business they were exercised about being of great weight both for the honor of God and the good of posterity, he therefore desired that it might be weightily considered.

"If we look to God, it is that his kingdom may come and be set up among us, and that his will may be done. Now if we provide not for the sanctification of the Sabbath, the will of God will not be done. The law, he said, was expressed Levit. xxiii, 3, 'Six days shall work be done, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of rest, a holy convocation, ye shall do no work therein, it is the Sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings.' This law was not proper to the land of Canaan, but a brief repetition of the fourth commandment, which requires that we should sanctify the Sabbath as a day of holy rest. Now in this way of farms at such a distance, it cannot

be kept as a holy convocation, and as a day of holy rest in all our dwellings. Therefore we shall live in the breach of the fourth commandment in this way.

"Besides, there are other things to be attended (as they ought to be) in a well ordered commonwealth; particularly, to use all due means to prevent sin in others, which cannot be done in this way; for many great abominations may be committed, and bring the wrath of God on the plantation; like the secret fact of Achan,—for which, wrath came upon the whole congregation of Israel, because they used not what means they might to prevent it; therefore could they not prosper when they went against the men of Ai. Therefore, would we prosper, let us prevent sin what we can in the farms. If they were brought into a village form, there might be some officer to look to civil order. But that being not done, he saw not but that we are in continued danger of the wrath of God, because we do not what we may for the prevention of disorders that may fall out there.

"And besides this, we are to look to the good of posterity. Now it is a sad object to consider, how they are deprived of the means for the education of their children. But if they were reduced to villages, they might then have one to teach their children.

"Mr. Davenport farther said, Let there be no divisions or contentions among you. But let every one, with some self-denial, set himself to further the work so as may be for the good both of the town and the farms. He said he sought not the destruction of the town or farms. But in his judgment, he thought, if the town fall into a way of trade, then the villages might be helpful to the town, and the town to the villages. And if the town did not consider of some way to further trade [that is, not only buying and selling, but the production

of commodities to be bought and sold,] how they would subsist he saw not. He farther said, he did like it well that there had been some consultation about a mill,"—which—"if God prosper it, may be a furtherance of trade. And if it please God to bless the iron work, that may be also a foundation for trade. Now put all these together;—the town falling into a way of trade will be in a better state, and the villages accommodated; and the honor of God in the sanctification of the Sabbath and the upholding of civil order will be provided for.

"Mr. Davenport farther said, that he looked upon it as a merciful hand of God that his wrath hath not broke out against us more than it hath, when sin hath not been prevented at the farms as it might have been. Let us now, said he, set our thoughts a-work how the kingdom of Christ may be settled among us, and that the will of God may be done in the sanctification of the Sabbath, by reducing the farms into villages. But herein we must go above sense and reason. Lay this foundation, Doth God require it? If he doth, then here we must exercise faith; as the Jews,—how they should be supplied, being God had commanded that every seventh year their land should rest,—and for safety, when at the commandment of God all their males must thrice in a year appear before the Lord at Jerusalem. Yet we must make use of reason and understanding that it may be done in such a way as may be for the good both of the town and of the farms. And the Lord guide you in it."

By this argument of Mr. Davenport's, the subject was introduced, and the discussion opened. All the veneration with which the people regarded their pastor did not prevent the free expression of objections. Among others, Sergeant Jeffries, while he professed himself "marvellous willing the villages should go on,"

thought it was "to be considered whether villages will not wrong the town much," and suggested, furthermore, "that the ministry of the colony was much unsettled,[1] which is a great discouragement to such a work." "To which Mr. Davenport answered, that Christ holds the stars in his right hand, and disposes of them as seems good to him. But this we must know, that if we obey not the voice of the prophets, God will take away the prophets. He further said, If we build God's house, God will build our house. He exhorted to consider whether it be our duty or not, and said that unless we look upon it as a duty, he would never advise to go about villages, nor any thing else of that nature."

All this, I say, shows us the character of the first New England pastors, and the sort of influence which they exerted in the community. Davenport's great concern was, indeed, that Christ's kingdom might be set up, that God's will might be done, and that to this all the arrangements of the commonwealth might tend. Sin, which when not duly restrained, brings God's wrath upon communities as upon individuals, was that which of all things he most feared. But his views did not begin and end with these two points. To him the good of posterity as dependent on education, was the greatest of public interests. The thought that any of the people were deprived of means for the education of their children, affected him with sadness. His influence made men feel that the surest way to prosper, was to be ever doing God's work, and to have all our interests identified with the prosperity of the kingdom of God. Yet his piety was not inconsistent with the most sagacious policy. Even when he would have men "go

[1] This was in February, 1659. The Church in Milford was then vacant by the death of Mr. Prudden, in 1656. Mr. Higginson left Guilford in 1659.

above sense and reason," and "exercise faith," he would nevertheless have them "make use of reason and understanding" to ascertain and promote the public welfare. His comprehensive mind, which his piety enlarged instead of contracting, formed in itself the idea which New England now exhibits every where in the happy reality; manufacturing and commercial towns upon the bays and rivers; rural municipalities filling the country around; and town and country each free from subjection to the other, yet mutually dependent, ministering to each other's prosperity.

To the stranger passing through New England, and becoming acquainted with the peculiarities of our social condition and of our civil polity, nothing is more striking, or more admirable, than the continual succession of villages, each with its neat white spire, its school houses, its clusters of comfortable dwellings, its own municipal rights and regulations, and each vying with its neighbor villages in order, thrift, and beauty. In other parts of the country, where New England influence not having predominated at the beginning, the forms of society are not molded after ours, you see a succession of broad farms, with many a pleasing indication of prosperous industry; but the villages are only at the "county seat," or where the exigencies of business create them. New England is a land of villages, not of manufacturing villages merely, or trading villages, but of villages formed for society, villages in each of which the meeting house is the acropolis. The reasons of this peculiarity appear from that argument of Mr. Davenport's which I have just recited. These villages were created—not as many have supposed, for defense alone, else why did not the same reason cause villages in Pennsylvania and Virginia—but first that the worship of God might be maintained, and his Sab-

baths be duly honored; secondly, that the people might have schools for all their children; thirdly, that they might maintain among themselves the most efficient civil order; and fourthly, that instead of living, each planter in solitary independence, they might live in mutual dependence and mutual helpfulness, and might thus develop more rapidly and effectually the natural resources of the country.

It is always easy to detract from greatness and from goodness; for the greatest minds are not exempt from infirmity, and the purest and noblest bear some stain of human imperfection. Let others find fault with the founders of the New England colonies, because they were not more than human; be it ours to honor them. We have no occasion to disparage the wisdom or the virtues of the lawgivers of other states and nations; nor need the admirers of Calvert or of Penn detract from the wisdom, the valor, or the devotion of the fathers of New England. Not to Winthrop and Cotton, nor to Eaton and Davenport, nor yet to Bradford and Brewster, belongs the glory of demonstrating with how little government society can be kept together, and men's lives and property be safe from violence. That glory belongs to Roger Williams; and to him belongs also the better glory of striking out and maintaining, with the enthusiasm though not without something of the extravagance of genius, the great conception of a perfect religious liberty. New England has learned to honor the name of Williams as one of the most illustrious in her records; and his principle of unlimited religious freedom, is now incorporated into the being of all her commonwealths. To Penn belongs the glory of having first opened in this land a free and broad asylum for men of every faith and every lineage. To him due honor is conceded; and America, still receiv-

ing into her "broad-armed ports," and enrolling among her own citizens, the thousands that come not only from the British Isles, but from the Alps, and from the Rhine, and from the bloody soil of Poland,—glories in his spreading renown. What then do we claim for the Pilgrims of Plymouth—what for the stern old Puritans of the Bay and of Connecticut—what for the founders of New Haven? Nothing, but that you look with candor on what they have done for their posterity and for the world. Their labors, their principles, their institutions, have made New England, with its hard soil and its cold, long winters, "the glory of all lands." The thousand towns and villages,—the decent sanctuaries not for show but for use, crowning the hill-tops, or peering out from the valleys,—the means of education accessible to every family—the universal diffusion of knowledge—the order and thrift, the general activity and enterprise, the unparalleled equality in the distribution of property, the general happiness, resulting from the diffusion of education and of pure religious doctrine,—the safety in which more than half the population sleep nightly with unbolted doors,—the calm, holy Sabbaths, when mute nature in the general silence becomes vocal with praise, when the whisper of the breeze seems more distinct, the distant water-fall louder and more musical, the carol of the morning birds, clearer and sweeter,—this is New England; and where will you find the like, save where you find the operation of New England principles and New England influence? This is the work of our fathers and ancient lawgivers. They came hither, not with new theories of government from the laboratories of political alchymists, not to try wild experiments upon human nature, but only to found a new empire for God, for truth, for virtue, for freedom guarded and bounded by justice. To have failed

in such an attempt had been glorious. Their glory is that they succeeded.

In founding their commonwealths, their highest aim was the glory of God in "the common welfare of all." Never before, save when God brought Israel out of Egypt, had any government been instituted with such an aim. They had no model before them, and no guidance save the principles of truth and righteousness embodied in the word of God, and the wisdom which he giveth liberally to them that ask him. They thought that their end, "the common welfare of all," was to be secured by founding pure and free Churches, by providing the means of universal education, and by laws maintaining perfect justice, which is the only perfect liberty. "The common welfare of all," said Davenport, is that "whereunto all men are bound principally to attend in laying the foundation of a commonwealth, lest posterity rue the first miscarriages when it will be too late to redress them. They that are skilled in architecture observe, that the breaking or yielding of a stone in the groundwork of a building, but the breadth of the back of a knife, will make a cleft of more than half a foot in the fabric aloft. So important, saith mine author, are fundamental errors. The Lord awaken us to look to it in time, and send us his light and truth to lead us into the safest ways in these beginnings." [1]

Not in vain did that prayer go up to heaven. Light and truth were sent; and posterity has had no occasion to rue the miscarriages of those who laid the "groundwork" of New England. On their foundations has arisen a holy structure. Prayers, toils, tears, sacrifices, and precious blood, have hallowed it. No unseemly fissures deforming "the fabric aloft," dishonor its founders. Convulsions that have rocked the world,

[1] Discourse upon Civil Government, 14.

have not moved it. When terror has seized the nations, and the faces of kings have turned pale at the footsteps of Almighty wrath, peace has been within its walls, and still the pure incense has been fragrant at its altar. Wise master-builders were they who laid the foundations. They built for eternity.

As we trace our history from one period of distress and conflict to another, the thought is continually presenting itself, How great the expense at which our privileges have been obtained for us! We dwell in peace and perfect safety. The lines are fallen to us in pleasant places. Beauty, comfort, light, joy, are all around us. The poorest man among us, has within his reach, immunities and blessings without number, means of improvement and means of enjoyment, to which the far greater portion of mankind, even in the most favored communities, have hitherto been strangers. And how little of this has been obtained by any effort or any sacrifice of ours. We have entered into other men's labors. We are enjoying the results of their agonies, and the answer to their prayers. They subdued the wilderness, and planted a land not sown; that we might dwell in a land adorned with culture, and enriched with the products of industry and art. They traversed with weary steps the pathless woods, where the wild beast growled upon them from his lair; that we might travel upon roads of iron, and borne by powers of which they never dreamed, might leave the winds behind us as we go. They encountered all that is terrible in savage war, and shed their blood in swamps and forests; that we might live in this security. They, with anxiety that never rested, and with many a stroke of vigilant or daring policy, baffled the machinations of the enemies who sought to reduce them to a servile dependence on the crown; that we might enjoy this popular govern-

ment, these equal laws, this perfect liberty. They came to the world's end, away from schools and libraries, and all the fountains of light in the old world; that we and our children might inhabit a land, glorious with the universal diffusion of knowledge. They were exiles for truth and purity, they like their Savior, were tempted in the wilderness; that the truth might make us free, and that the richest blessing of their covenant God might come on their posterity. All that there is in our lot for which to be grateful, we owe, under God, to those who here have labored, and prayed, and suffered for us.

So it is every where. While every man is in one view the arbiter of his own destiny, the author of his own weal or woe; in another view, equally true and equally important, every man's lot is determined by others. Every where in this world, you see the principle of vicarious action and vicarious suffering. No being under the government of God, exists for himself alone; and in this world of conflict and of change, where evermore one generation passeth away and another generation cometh, the greatest toil of each successive age is to provide for its successors. Thus, by the very constitution and conditions of our existence here, does our Creator teach us to rise above the narrow views and aims of selfishness, and to find our happiness in seeking the happiness of others. Such is God's plan,—such are the relations by which he connects us with the past and with the future, as well as with our fellow actors in the passing scene; and the mind which by the grace of the gospel has been renewed to a participation "of the Divine nature," throws itself spontaneously into God's plan, and learns the meaning of that motto, "None of us liveth to himself, and none dieth to himself." Such a mind, created

anew in Christ, and knowing him and the power of his resurrection, knows also the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death. In this spirit an apostle exclaimed, "I rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ."

Look about you now, and compute if you can, how much you are enjoying of the purchase of other men's toils, the results of their patience and steadfastness, and the answer to their prayers. The debt is infinite. All that you can do to discharge it, is to stand in your lot, for truth, for freedom, for virtue, and "for the good of posterity."

ADDRESS

ROBERT C. WINTHROP

1839

ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP

(1809-1894.)

The oration of 1839 was delivered at the Broadway Tabernacle, by Mr. Winthrop of Boston. The speaker was a New Englander of the New Englanders, a descendant both of the Governor of his name in Massachusetts and of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. Since 1834 Mr. Winthrop had been a member of the legislature of his state, and in this year had been elected to Congress. Later he was to serve as Speaker of the House, and, for a few months, as successor in the Senate to Mr. Webster. When invited to New York for this anniversary, however, he was only on the eve of his career as the able, conservative leader, but his gifts as an orator were known, and for occasional addresses he was in wide demand then as throughout the period of marked public life and the years of retirement that followed.

ADDRESS

TOWARDS the close of the year 1558, about 281 years ago, a little more than nine times the period which has been commonly assigned as the term of a generation, and only four times the three score years and ten which have been Divinely allotted to the life of man, a Virgin Princess ascended the throne of England. Inheriting, together with the throne itself, a full measure of that haughty and overbearing spirit which characterized the Royal race from which she sprang, she could not brook the idea of any partition of her power, or any control over her person. She seemed resolved that that race should end with her, and that the crown which it had so nobly won on Bosworth Field should seek a new channel of succession, rather than it should be deprived, in her person and through any accident of her sex, of one jot or tittle of that high prerogative, which it had now enjoyed for nearly a century. She seemed to prefer, not only to hold, herself a barren sceptre—no heir of hers succeeding—but even to let that sceptre fall into the hands of the issue of a hated, persecuted, and finally murdered rival, rather than risk the certainty of wielding it herself, with that free and unembarrassed arm which befitted a daughter of the Tudors.

Accordingly, no sooner had she grasped it, and seated herself securely upon the throne of her Fathers, than she declared to her suppliant Commons—who doubtless

presumed that they could approach a Queen of almost six-and-twenty, with no more agreeable petition, than that she would graciously condescend to select for herself an help meet for her in the management of the mighty interests which had just been intrusted to her—that England was her husband; that she had wedded it with the marriage ring upon her finger, placed there by herself with that design on the very morning of her coronation; that while a private person she had always declined a matrimonial engagement, regarding it even then as an incumbrance, but that much more did she persist in this opinion now that a great Kingdom had been committed to her charge; and that, for one, she wished no higher character or fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity, when she should pay the last debt to Nature, than to have this inscription engraved on her tombstone—"Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a Maiden Queen."

In the purpose thus emphatically declared at her accession, the Queen of whom I speak persevered to her decease. Scorning the proverbial privilege of her sex to change their minds at will upon such a subject, and resisting the importunities of a thousand suitors, she realized that vision of a Midsummer Night's Dream, which was so exquisitely unfolded to her by the immortal Dramatist of her day:

> "I saw
> Flying between the cold moon and the earth
> Cupid all-armed: a certain aim he took
> At a fair Vestal, throned by the West,
> And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow
> As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;—
> But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
> Quenched in the chaste beams of the watery moon;
> And the imperial votress passed on,
> In maiden meditation, fancy-free."

But Elizabeth was not quite content to wait for a tombstone, on which to inscribe this purpose and its fulfillment. Proclaimed, as it annually was, through the whole length and breadth of the Old World, from almost every corner of which proposals of a character to shake and change it, were continually poured in upon her,—she resolved to engrave it once and forever upon the New World also, where as yet there was no civilized suitor to teaze her with his pretensions, whose very existence had been discovered less than a century before by Christopher Columbus, and the Northern Continent of which had been brought within the reach of her own prerogative by the subsequent discovery of Sebastian Cabot. To that whole Continent she gave the name of VIRGINIA; and at her death, after a reign of five-and-forty years, that whole Continent, through all its yet unmeasured latitudes and longitudes, from the confines of Labrador to the Mexican Gulf, was known by no other title, than that which thus marked it as the dominion of a Maiden Queen.

But it was that Queen's dominion only in name. Four times, indeed, she had essayed to people it and plant her banners there. But in vain. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to whom the first patent for this purpose was granted, being compelled to return prematurely to England by the disasters he had experienced on the coast of Newfoundland, was lost in a storm on the homeward passage, and all that survived of his gallant enterprise, was that sublime exclamation, as he sat in the stern of his sinking bark—"It is as near to Heaven by sea as by land."—By the resolute and undaunted efforts of his illustrious brother-in-law, Sir Walter Raleigh, however, three separate companies of Colonists were afterwards conducted to the more Southern parts of the Continent, and each in succession commenced a settlement

at Roanoke Bay. But two of them perished on the spot, without leaving behind them even so much as the means of ascertaining whether they had owed their destruction to force or to famine;—while the third, which, indeed, was the first in order, within a year from its departure, returned in disgust to its native land. And the whole result of Virginia Colonization and Virginia Commerce, upon which such unbounded hopes of glory and of gain had been hung by Raleigh and cherished by the Queen, had hitherto consisted in the introduction into England, by this last named band of emigrants returning home in despair, of a few hundreds of *tobacco*, and in Queen Elizabeth herself becoming one of Raleigh's pupils in that most maidenly and most Queenly accomplishment—*smoking a pipe*. Not one subject did Elizabeth leave at her death in that wide spread Continent, which she had thus destined to the honor of perpetuating the memory of her haughty and ambitious virginity.

Within a year or two past, a second Maiden Queen has ascended the throne which the first exchanged for a grave in 1603. And when she casts her eye back, as she can scarcely fail frequently to do, to the days of her illustrious prototype, and compares the sceptre which Elizabeth so boldly swayed for nearly half a century with that which trembles in her girlish hand, she may console herself with the reflection, that if the strength and potency of her own are greatly inferior, its reach and sweep are, practically at least, vastly more extended. She sees the immediate successor to Elizabeth, uniting the crowns of England and Scotland, and preparing the way for that perfect consolidation of the two Countries which another Century was destined to complete. Ireland, too, she finds no longer held by the tenure of an almost annual conquest, but included in

the bonds of the same great Union. While beyond the boundaries of the Imperial Homestead, she beholds her Power bestriding the World, like a Colossus, a foot on either Hemisphere—in one, military posts and colonial possessions hailing her accession and acknowledging her sway, which were without even a name or local habitation in the history of the World as Raleigh wrote it—and in the other, a Company of Adventurers which Elizabeth chartered a few years before her death, to try the experiment of a trade with the East Indies by the newly discovered passage round the Cape of Good Hope, converted from a petty Mercantile Corporation into a vast Military Empire, and holding in her name and expending in her service territorial dominions and revenues equal to those of the most powerful Independent Monarchies.

But where is *Virginia?* Where is the "ancient dominion" upon which her great Exemplar inscribed the substance of that "maiden meditation" which even now, mayhap, is mingled with the weightier cares of majesty in her own breast? Have all attempts to plant and colonize it proved still unsuccessful? Is it still unreclaimed from original barbarism,—still only the abode of wolves and wild men? And why is it not found on the map of the British possessions—why not comprised in the catalogue of Her Majesty's Colonies? Two centuries and a third ago only, when Elizabeth quitted the throne, it was there, unsettled indeed and with not a civilized soul upon its soil, but opening its boundless territories to the adventure and enterprise of the British People, and destined to all human appearances to be one day counted among the brightest jewels in the crowns of the British Princes. Why is it not now seen sparkling in that which encircles *her* brow?

If we might imagine the youthful Victoria, led along

by the train of reflections which we have thus suggested, and snatching a moment from the anxious contemplation of Colonies which she is in immediate danger of losing, to search after those which have been lost to her already,—if we might imagine her turning back the page of History to the period of the first Stuart, to discover what became of the Virginia of Elizabeth after her death, how it was finally planted, and how it passed from beneath the sceptre of her successes,—if we might be indulged in a far less natural imagination, and fancy ourselves admitted at this moment to the Royal presence, and, with something more even than the ordinary boldness of Yankee curiosity, peering over the Royal shoulder, as, impatient at the remembrance of losses sustained and still more so at the prospect of like losses impending, she hurries over the leaves on which the fortunes of that Virginia are recorded, and the fortunes of all other Virginias foreshadowed,—what a scene should we find unfolding itself to her view!

She sees, at a glance, a permanent settlement effected there, and James the First, more fortunate than his mother's murderer, inscribing a name not on a mere empty Territory only, but on an organized and inhabited Town. A page onward, she perceives a second and entirely separate settlement accomplished in a widely distant quarter of the Continent, and the cherished title of New England is now presented to her view. Around these two original footholds of civilization, she sees a hardy, enterprising and chivalrous people rapidly clustering, while other settlements are simultaneously established along the territory which divides them. Thousands of miles of coast, with their parallel ranges of interior Country, are soon seen thickly studded over with populous and flourishing plantations. The population of them all, which had run up from 0 to

300,000 by the close of the 17th Century, is found advanced to more than two million by the close of the 18th. And another page displays to her kindling gaze thirteen as noble Colonies as the Sun ever shone upon, with nearly three millions of inhabitants, all acknowledging their allegiance to the British Crown, all contributing their unmatched energies to the support and extension of the British Commerce, and all claiming, as their most valued birthright, the liberties and immunities of the British Constitution. Ah! did the volume but end there! But she perceives, as she proceeds, that in a rash hour those liberties and immunities were denied them. Resistance, War, Independence, in letters of blood now start up bewilderingly to her sight. And where the Virginia of Elizabeth was, two centuries and a third ago, a waste and howling wilderness upon which civilized man was as yet unable to maintain himself a moment—she next beholds an Independent and United Nation of sixteen millions of Freemen, with a Commerce second only to her own, and with a Country, a Constitution, an entire condition of men and things, which from all previous experience in the growth of Nations, ought to have been the fruit of at least a thousand years, and would have been regarded as the thrifty produce of a Millennium well employed!

Gentlemen of the New England Society and Fellow Citizens of New York, of this wonderful rise and progress of our Country, from the merely nominal and embryo existence which it had acquired at the dawn of the 17th Century, to the mature growth, the substantial prosperity, the independent greatness and National grandeur in which it is now beheld, we this day commemorate a main, original spring. The 22d of December, 1620, was not the mere birthday of a Town or a

Colony. Had it depended for its distinction upon events like these, it would have long ago ceased to be memorable. The Town which it saw planted, is indeed still in existence, standing on the very site which the Pilgrims selected, and containing within its limits an honest, industrious and virtuous people, not unworthy of the precious scenes and hallowed associations to whose enjoyment they have succeeded. But possessing, as it did originally, no peculiar advantages either of soil, locality or climate, and outstripped, as it naturally has been, in wealth, size, population and importance, by thousands of other Towns all over the Continent, it would scarcely suffice to perpetuate beyond its own immediate precincts, the observance, or even the remembrance of a day, of whose doings it constituted the only monument; while the Colony of whose establishment that day was also the commencement, has long since ceased to enjoy any separate political existence. As if to rescue its Founders from the undeserved fortune of being only associated in the memory of posterity with the settlers of individual States, and to insure for them a name and a praise in all quarters of the Country, the Colony of New Plymouth never reached the dignity of Independent Sovereignty to which almost all its sister Colonies were destined, and is now known only as the fraction of a County of a Commonwealth which was founded by other hands.

Yes, the event which occurred two hundred and nineteen years ago yesterday, was of wider import than the confines of New Plymouth. The area of New England, greater than that of Old England, has yet proved far too contracted to comprehend all its influences. They have been coëxtensive with our country. They have pervaded our Continent. They have passed the Isthmus. They have climbed the farthest Andes. They

have crossed the Ocean. The seeds of the Mayflower, wafted by the winds of Heaven, or borne in the Eagle's beak, have been scattered far and wide over the Old World as well as over the New. The suns of France or Italy have not scorched them. The frosts of Russia have not nipped them. The fogs of Germany have not blighted them. They have sprung up in every latitude, and borne fruit, some twenty, some fifty, and some an hundred fold. And though so often struck down and crushed beneath the iron tread of arbitrary Power, they are still ineradicably imbedded in every soil, and their leaves are still destined to be for the healing of all Nations. Oh, could only some one of the pious Fathers whose wanderings were this day brought to an end, be permitted to enter once more upon these earthly scenes; could he, like the pious Father of ancient Rome, guided by some guardian spirit and covered with a cloud, be conducted, I care not to what spot beneath the sky, how might he exclaim, as he gazed, not with tears of anguish, but of rapture, not on some empty picture of Pilgrim sorrows and Pilgrim struggles, but upon the living realities of Pilgrim influence and Pilgrim achievement—"*Quis locus—Quæ regio*—what place, what region upon earth is there, which is not full of the products of our labors! Where, where, has not some darkness been enlightened, some oppression alleviated, some yoke broken or chain loosened, some better views of God's worship or man's duty, of Divine Law or human rights, been imparted by our principles or inspired by our example!"

This Country, Fellow Citizens, has in no respect more entirely contravened all previous experience in human affairs, than in affording materials for the minutest details in the history of its earliest ages. I should rather say, of its earliest *days*, for it has had no

ages, and days have done for it, what ages have been demanded for elsewhere. But, whatever the periods of its existence may be termed, they are all historical periods. Its whole birth, growth, being, are before us. We are not compelled to resort to cunningly devised fables to account either for its origin or advancement. We can trace back the current of its career to the very rock from which it first gushed.

Yet how like a fable does it seem, how even "stranger than fiction," to speak of the event which we this day commemorate, as having exerted any material influence on the destinies of our Country, much more as having in any degree affected the existing condition of the world! This ever-memorable, ever-glorious landing of the Pilgrims, how, where, by what numbers, under what circumstances was it made? From what invincible Armada did the Fathers of New England disembark? With what array of disciplined armies did they line the shore? Warned by the fate which had so frequently befallen other Colonists on the same Coast, what batteries did they bring to defend them from the incursions of a merciless foe, what stores to preserve them from the invasions of a not more merciful famine?

In the whole history of Colonization, ancient or modern, no feebler Company, either in point of numbers, armament, or supplies, can be found, than that which landed, on the day we commemorate, on these American shores. Forty-one men,—of whom two, at least, came over only in the capacity of servants to others, and who manifested their title to be counted among the Fathers of New England within a few weeks after their arrival, by fighting with sword and dagger the first *Duel* which stands recorded on the annals of the New World, for which they were adjudged to be tied together neck and heels and so to lie for four and twenty

hours without meat or drink—forty-one men,—of whom one more, at least, had been shuffled into the ship's company at London, nobody knew by whom, and who even more signally vindicated his claim no long time after, to be enumerated among this pious, Pilgrim Band, by committing the first murder and gracing the first gallows of which there is any memorial in our Colonial History—forty-one men, all told,—with about sixty women and children, one of whom had been born during the passage and another in the harbor before they landed,—in a single ship, of only one hundred and eighty tons burthen, whose upper works had proved so leaky, and whose middle beam had been so bowed and wracked by the cross winds and fierce storms which they encountered during the first half of the voyage, that but for "a great iron screw" which one of the passengers had brought with him from Holland and by which they were enabled to raise the beam into its place again, they must have turned back in despair—conducted, after a four months' passage upon the Ocean, either by the ignorance or the treachery of their Pilot, to a Coast widely different from that which they had themselves selected, and entirely out of the jurisdiction of the Corporation from which they had obtained their Charter—and landing at last,—after a four weeks' search along the shore for a harbor in which they could land at all,—at one moment wearied out with wading above their knees in the icy surf, at another tired with travelling up and down the steep hills and valleys covered with snow, at a third, dashed upon the breakers in a foundering shallop whose sails, masts, rudder, had been successively carried away in a squall, with the spray of the sea frozen on them until their clothes looked as if they were glazed and felt like coats of iron, and having in all their search seen little else but graves,

and received no other welcome but a shout of savages and a shower of arrows—landing at last, with a scanty supply of provisions for immediate use, and with ten bushels of corn for planting in the ensuing spring, which they had dug out of the sand-hills where the Indians had hidden it, and without which they would have been in danger of perishing, but for which, it is carefully recorded, they gave the owners entire content about six months after—landing at last, in the depth of winter, with grievous colds and coughs and the seeds of those illnesses which quickly proved the death of many—upon a bleak and storm-beaten Rock,—a fit emblem of most of the soil by which it was surrounded—*this*, this, is a plain, unvarnished story of that day's transaction,—this was the triumphal entry of the New England Fathers upon the theatre of their glory!—What has saved it from being the theme of ridicule and contempt? What has rescued it from being handed down through all history, as a wretched effort to compass a mighty end by paltry and utterly inadequate means? What has screened it from being stigmatized forever as a Quixotic sally of wild and hare-brained enthusiasts?

Follow this feeble, devoted band, to the spot which they have at length selected for their habitation. See them felling a few trees, sawing and carrying the timber, and building the first New England house, of about twenty feet square, to receive them and their goods—and see that house, the earliest product of their exhausted energies, within a fortnight after it was finished, and on the very morning it was for the first time to have been the scene of their wilderness worship, burnt in an instant to the ground.

They have chosen a Governor—one whom of all others they respect and love—but his care and pains

were so great for the common good, as therewith it is thought he oppressed himself, and shortened his days, and one morning, early in the spring, he came out of the cornfields, where he had been toiling with the rest, sick, and died. They have elected another; but who is there now to be governed? They have chosen a Captain, too, and appointed Military Orders; but who is there now to be armed and marched to battle? At the end of three months a full half of the Company are dead—of one hundred persons scarce fifty remain, and of those, the living are scarce able to bury the dead, the well not sufficient to tend the sick. Were there no graves in England, that they have thus come out to die in the wilderness?

But, doubtless, the diminution of their numbers has, at least, saved them from all fear of famine. Their little cornfields have yielded a tolerable crop, and the autumn finds such as have survived, in comparative health and plenty. And now, the first arrival of a ship from England rejoices them not a little. Once more they are to hear from home, from those dear families and friends which they have left behind them, to receive tokens of their remembrance in supplies sent to their relief, perhaps to behold some of them face to face coming over to share in their lonely exile. Alas! one of the best friends to their enterprise has, indeed, come over, and brought five-and-thirty persons to live in their plantation—but the ship is so poorly furnished with provisions, that they are forced to spare her some of theirs to carry her back, while not her passengers only, but themselves too, are soon threatened with starvation. The whole Company are forthwith put upon half allowance;—but the famine, notwithstanding, begins to pinch. They look hard for a supply, but none arrives. They spy a boat at sea; it is nearing the shore; it comes

to land;—it brings—*a letter;*—it brings more;—it brings seven passengers to join them;—more mouths to eat, but no food, no hope of any.—But they have begged, at last, of a fisherman at the Eastward, as much bread as amounts to a quarter of a pound per day till harvest, and with that they are sustained and satisfied.

And now, the Narragansetts, many thousand strong, begin to breathe forth threatenings and slaughter against them, mocking at their weakness and challenging them to the contest. And when they look for the arrival of more friends from England, to strengthen them in this hour of peril, they find a disorderly, unruly band of fifty or sixty worthless fellows coming amongst them to devour their substance, to waste and steal their corn, and by their thefts and outrages upon the natives, also, to excite them to fresh and fiercer hostilities.

Turn to the fate of their first mercantile adventure. The ship which arrived in their harbor next after the Mayflower had departed, and which, as we have seen, involved them in the dangers and distresses of a famine, has been laden with the proceeds of their traffic with the Indians, and with the fruits of their own personal toil. The little cargo consists of two hogsheads of beaver and other skins, and good clapboards as full as she can hold—the freight estimated in all at near five hundred pounds.—What emotions of pride, what expectations of profit, went forth with that little outfit! And how were they doomed to be dashed and disappointed! Just as the ship was approaching the English coast, she was seized by a French freebooter, and robbed of all she had worth taking!

View them in a happier hour, in a scene of prosperity and success. They have a gallant warrior in their company, whose name, albeit it was the name of a little man, (for Miles Standish was hardly more than

five feet high,) has become the very synonyme of a great Captain. An alarm has been given of a conspiracy among the natives, and he has been empowered to enlist as many men as he thinks sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachusetts Bay.—He has done so, has put an end to the conspiracy, and comes home laden with the spoils of an achievement which has been styled by his biographer his "most capital exploit."—How long a list of killed and wounded, think you, is reported as the credentials of his bloody prowess, and how many men does he bring with him to share in the honors of the triumph? The whole number of Indians slain in this expedition was *six*, and though the Pilgrim hero brought back with him in safety every man that he carried out, the returning host numbered but *eight* beside their leader. He did not take more with him, we are told, in order to prevent that jealousy of military power, which, it seems, had already found its way to a soil it has never since left. But his proceedings, notwithstanding, by no means escaped censure. When the pious Robinson heard of this transaction in Holland, he wrote to the Pilgrims "to consider the disposition of their Captain, who was of a warm temper," adding, however, this beautiful sentiment in relation to the wretched race to which the victims of the expedition belonged—"it would have been happy, if they had converted some, before they had killed any."

Inconceivable Fortune! Unimaginable Destiny! Inscrutable Providence! Are these the details of an event from which such all-important, all-pervading influences were to flow? Were these the means, and these the men, through which not New Plymouth only was to be planted, not New England only to be founded, not our whole Country only to be formed and moulded, but the

whole Hemisphere to be shaped and the whole world shaken? Yes, Fellow Citizens, this was the event, these were the means, and these the men, by which these mighty impulses and momentous effects actually have been produced. And inadequate, unadapted, impotent, to such ends, as to outward appearances they may seem, there was a Power in them and a Power over them amply sufficient for their accomplishment, and the only powers that were thus sufficient.—The direct and immediate influence of the passengers in the Mayflower, either upon the destinies of our own land or of others, may, indeed, have been less conspicuous than that of some of the New England Colonists who followed them. But it was the bright and shining wake they left upon the waves, it was the clear and brilliant beacon they lighted upon the shores, that caused them to have any followers. They were the pioneers in that peculiar path of emigration which alone conducted to these great results. They, as was written to them by their brethren in the very outset of their enterprise, were the instruments to break the ice for others, and theirs shall be the honor unto the world's end!

When the Pilgrim Fathers landed upon Plymouth Rock, one hundred and twenty-eight years had elapsed since the discovery of the New World by Columbus.—During this long period, the Southern Continent of America had been the main scene of European adventure and enterprise. And richly had it repaid the exertions which had been made to subdue and settle it. The Empires of Montezuma and the Incas had surrendered themselves at the first summons before the chivalrous energies of Cortes and Pizarro, and Brazil had mingled her diamonds with the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru, to deck the triumphs and crown the rapacity of the Spaniard and the Portuguese.

But the Northern Continent had been by no means neglected in the adventures of the day. Nor had those adventures been confined to the subjects of Portugal and Spain. The Monarchs of those two kingdoms, indeed, emboldened by their success at the South, had put forth pretensions to the sole jurisdiction of the whole New Hemisphere. But Francis the First had well replied, that he should be glad to see the clause *in Adam's Will*, which made the Northern Continent their exclusive inheritance, and France, under his lead, had set about securing for herself a share of the spoils. It was under French patronage that John Verazzano was sailing in 1524, when the harbor of New York especially attracted his notice for its great convenience and pleasantness.

But England, also,—with better right than either of the others, claiming, as she could, under the Cabots—had not been inattentive to the opportunity of enlarging her dominions, and I have already alluded to sundry unsuccessful attempts which were made by the English to effect this object, during the reign and under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth.

Within a few months previous to the close of her reign and without her patronage, Bartholomew Gosnold added another to the list of these unavailing efforts—having only achieved for himself the distinction of being the first Englishman that ever trod what was afterwards known as the New England shore, and of having given to the point of that shore upon which he first set foot, the homely, but now endeared and honored title of Cape Cod.

Only a few years after the death of the Queen, however, these efforts were renewed with fresh zeal. As early as 1606, King James divided the Virginia of Elizabeth into two parts, and assigned the colonization of them to two separate companies, by one of which, and especially by its President, the Lord Chief Justice

Popham, an attempt was immediately made to settle the New England coast. A colony, indeed, was actually planted under his patronage, and under the personal lead of his brother, at Sagadahoc, near the mouth of the Kennebec River, in 1607. But it remained there only a single year, and was broken up under such disheartening circumstances,—the Colonists on their return branding the Country "as over-cold and not habitable by our Nation,"—that the Adventurers gave up their designs.

Five or six years later, notwithstanding, in 1614, the famous Captain John Smith, who had already, under the auspices of the other of the two Companies, established what afterwards proved to be, rather than really then was, a permanent settlement in Southern Virginia, having founded Jamestown in 1607, was induced to visit and survey this *Northern Virginia* also, as it was then called. And after his return home, Captain Smith prepared and published a detailed account of the Country with a map, calling it for the first time, and as if to secure for it all the favor which the associations of a noble name could bestow, *New England*, and giving a most glowing description of the riches both of soil and sea, of forests and fisheries, which awaited the enjoyment of the settler.—"For I am not so simple," said he, (fortunate, fortunate for the foundation of the Country he was describing, such simplicity was at length discovered!) "for I am not so simple as to think that ever any other motive than *wealth*, will ever erect there a common weal, or draw company from their ease and humors at home to stay in New England."

During the following year this gallant and chivalrous seaman and soldier evinced the sincerity of the opinion which he had thus publicly expressed, as to the inviting character of the spot, by attempting a settle-

ment there himself, and made two successive voyages for that purpose. But both of them were continued scenes of disappointments and disaster, and he, too, for whose lion-hearted heroism nothing had ever seemed too difficult, was compelled to acknowledge himself overmatched, and abandon the undertaking.

And where now were the hopes of planting New England? The friends to the enterprise were at their wit's end. All that the patronage of princes, all that the combined energies of rich and powerful Corporations, all that the individual efforts of the boldest and most experienced private Adventurers, stimulated by the most glowing imaginations of the gains which awaited their grasp, could do, had been done, and done in vain. Means and motives of this sort, had effected nothing, indeed, on the whole North American Continent, after more than half a century of uninterrupted operation, but a little settlement at one extremity by the Spanish, (St. Augustine in 1565,) a couple of smaller settlements at the other extremity by the French, (Port Royal, in 1605 and Quebec, in 1609,) and smaller and more precarious than either, the Jamestown settlement about midway between the two—this last being the only shadow—and but a shadow it was—of English Colonization on the whole Continent.

But the Atlantic Coast of North America, and especially that part of it which was to be known as New England, was destined to date its ultimate occupation to something higher and nobler than the chivalry of Adventurers, the greediness of Corporations or the ambition of Kings. The lust of new dominion, the thirst for treasure, the quest for spoil, had found an ample field, reaped an overflowing harvest, and rioted in an almost fatal surfeit on the Southern Continent. It might almost seem, in view of the lofty destinies

which were in store for the Northern, in contemplation of the momentous influences it was to exert upon the welfare of mankind and the progress of the world, as if Providence had heaped those treasures and clustered those jewels upon the soil of Peru and Mexico, to divert the interest, absorb the passions, cloy the appetite and glut the rapacity which were naturally aroused by the discovery of a New World. We might almost imagine the guardian Spirit of the Pilgrims commissioned to cast down this golden fruit and strew this Hesperian harvest along the pathway of the newly awakened enterprise, to secure the more certainly for the subjects of its appointed care, the possession of their promised land—their dowerless, but chosen Atalanta.

But I am anticipating an idea which must not be thus summarily dismissed, and to which I may presently find an opportunity to do better justice. Meantime, however, let me remark, that we are not left altogether to supernatural agency for at least the secondary impulse under which New England was colonized. Nor were the earthly princes and potentates of whom I have already spoken,—Elizabeth, her Minister of Justice, and her successor in the throne,—though so signally frustrated in all their direct endeavors to that end, without a most powerful, though wholly indirect and involuntary, influence, upon its final accomplishment.

The daughter of Ann Bullen could not fail to cherish a most hearty and implacable hatred towards that Church, in defiance of whose thunders she was conceived and cradled, and in the eye and open declaration of which she was a bastard, a heretic, an outlaw and an usurper. So far, at any rate, Elizabeth was a friend to the Reformation. But she had almost as little notion as her Father, of any reformation which reached be-

yond releasing her dominions from the authority of the Pope, and establishing herself at the head of the Church. And, accordingly, the very first year of her reign was marked by the enactment of Laws, exacting, under the severest penalties, conformity to the doctrines and discipline of the English Church—a policy which she never relinquished.

For a violation of these Laws and others of subsequent enactment but of similar import, a large number of persons in her kingdom, whose minds had been too thoroughly inspired with disgust for the masks and mummeries of Catholic worship, to be content with a bare renunciation of the temporal or spiritual authority of the Pope, were arrested, imprisoned, and treated with all manner of persecution. At least six of them were capitally executed, and two of these, as it happened, were condemned to death by that very Lord Chief Justice, whom we have seen a few years afterwards, at the head of the Plymouth Company, engaged in so earnest but unavailing an effort to colonize the New England coast. Little did he know that his part in that work had been already performed.

In an imaginary "Dialogue between some Young Men born in New England and sundry Ancient Men that came out of Holland and Old England," written in 1648 by Governor Bradford—a name which before all others should be this day remembered with veneration—the Young Men are represented as asking of the Old Men, how many Separatists had been executed. "We know certainly of six," replied the ancient men, "that were publicly executed, besides such as died in prisons. . . . Two of them were condemned by cruel Judge Popham, whose countenance and carriage was very rough and severe towards them, with many

sharp menaces. But God gave them courage to bear it, and to make this answer:—

> "My Lord, your face we fear not,
> And for your threats we care not,
> And to come to your read service we dare not."

Nor did King James depart from the footsteps of his predecessor in the religious policy of his administration. Though from his Scotch education and connections, and from the opinions which he had openly avowed before coming to the English throne, he had seemed pledged to a career of liberality and toleration, yet no sooner was he fairly seated on that throne than he, too, set about vindicating his claim to his new title of "Defender of the Faith," and enforcing conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the English Church. And he cut short a conference at Hampton Court, between himself and the Puritan leaders, got up at his own instigation in the vainglorious idea that he could vanquish these heretics in an argument, with this summary and most significant declaration—"If this be all they have to say, I will make them conform, *or I will harry them out of the land.*"

The idea of banishment was full of bitterness to those to whom it was thus sternly held up. They loved their native land with an affection which no rigor of restraint, no cruelty of persecution, could quench. Death itself, to some of them at least, seemed to have fewer fears than exile. "We crave," was the touching language of a Petition of sixty Separatists in 1592, who had been committed unbailable to close prison in London, where they were allowed neither meat nor drink, nor lodging, and where no one was suffered to have access to them, so as no felons or traitors or murderers

were thus dealt with,—"We crave for all of us but the liberty either to die openly or to live openly in the land of our nativity. If we deserve death, it beseemeth the majesty of justice not to see us closely murdered, yea, starved to death with hunger and cold, and stifled in loathsome dungeons. If we be guiltless, we crave but the benefit of our innocence, that we may have peace to serve our God and our Prince in the place of the sepulchres of our Fathers."

But there were those among them, notwithstanding, to whom menaces, whether of banishment or of the block, even uttered thus angrily by one, who, as he once well said of himself, "while he held the appointment of Judges and Bishops in his hand, could make what Law, and what Gospel he chose," were alike powerless, to prevail on them to conform to modes and creeds which they did not of themselves approve. They heard a voice higher and mightier than James's, calling to them in the accents of their own consciences, and saying, in the express language of a volume, which it had been the most precious result of all the discoveries, inventions and improvements of that age of wonders, to unlock to them—"Be ye not conformed—but be ye transformed"—and that voice, summon it to exile, or summon it to the grave, they were resolved to obey.

Foiled, therefore, utterly in the first of his alternatives, the king resorted to the last. It was more within the compass of his power, and he *did* harry them out of the land. Within three years after the utterance of this threat, (viz. in 1607,) it is recorded by the Chronologist, that Messrs. Clifton's and Robinson's church in the North of England, being extremely harassed, some cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their farms and families, begin to fly

over to Holland for purity of worship and liberty of conscience.

Religions, true and false, have had their Hegiras, and Institutions and Empires have owed their origin to the flight of a child, a man, or a multitude. Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh,—but he returned to overwhelm him with the judgments of Jehovah, and to build up Israel into a mighty People. Mahomet with his followers fled from the Magistrates of Mecca,—but he came back, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, and the Empire of the Saracens was soon second to none on the globe. "The Young Child and his Mother" fled from the fury of Herod,—but they returned, and the banner of the Cross was still destined to go forth conquering and to conquer. The Pilgrim Fathers, also, fled from the oppression of this arbitrary tyrant, and, although their return was to a widely distant portion of his dominions, yet return they did, and the Freedom and Independence of a great Republic, delivered from the yoke of that tyrant's successors, date back their origin this day, to the principles for which they were proscribed, and to the institutions which they planted!

But let us follow them in their eventful flight. They first settle at Amsterdam, where they remain for about a year, and are soon joined by the rest of their brethren. But finding that some contentions had arisen in a Church which was there before them, and fearing that they might themselves become embroiled in them, though they knew it would be very much "to the prejudice of their outward interest" to remove, yet "valuing peace and spiritual comfort above all other riches" they depart to Leyden, and there live "in great love and harmony both among themselves and their neighbor citizens for above eleven years."

But, although during all this time they had been courteously entertained and lovingly respected by the people, and had quietly and sweetly enjoyed their Church liberties under the States, yet finding that, owing to the difference of their language, they could exert but little influence over the Dutch, and had not yet succeeded in bringing them to reform the neglect of observation of the Lord's day as a Sabbath, or any other thing amiss among them,—that, owing, also, to the licentiousness of youth in that Country and the manifold temptations of the place, their children were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, they now begin to fear that Holland would be no place for their church and their posterity to continue in comfortably, and on those accounts to think of a remove to America. And having hesitated a while between Guiana and Virginia as a place of resort, and having at last resolved on the latter, they send their agents to treat with the Virginia Company for a right within their chartered limits, and to see if the King would give them liberty of conscience there. The Company they found ready enough to grant them a patent with ample privileges, but liberty of conscience under the broad seal King James could never be brought to bestow, and the most that could be extorted from him by the most persevering importunity was a promise, that he would *connive* at them, and not molest them, provided they should carry themselves peaceably.

Notwithstanding this discouragement, however, they resolved to venture. And after another year of weary negotiation with the merchants who were to provide them with a passage, the day for their departure arrives.—It had been agreed that a part of the church should go before their brethren to America to prepare for the rest, and as the major part was to stay behind,

it was also determined that their pastor, the beloved Robinson, should stay with them. Not only were the Pilgrims thus about to leave "that goodly and pleasant City which had been their resting place above eleven years," but to leave behind them also the greatest part of those with whom they had been so long and lovingly associated in a strange land, and this—to encounter all the real and all the imaginary terrors which belonged to that infancy of ocean navigation, to cross a sea of three thousand miles in breadth, and to reach at last a shore which had hitherto repelled the approaches of every civilized settler! Who can describe the agonies of such a scene? Their Memorialist has done it in language as satisfactory as any language can be, but the description still seems cold and feeble.

"And now the time being come when they were to depart," says he, "they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the City unto a Town called Delft Haven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. . . . One night was spent with little sleep with the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day, the wind being fair, they went on board, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to hear what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each other's hearts, that sundry of the Dutch strangers, that stood on the Key as spectators, could not refrain from tears. But the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away that were thus loth to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers unto the Lord and his blessing;—and then with mutual em-

braces and many tears they took their leave of one another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them."

Such was the embarkation of the New England Fathers!—Such the commencement of that Pilgrim Voyage, whose progress during a period of five months I have already described, and whose termination we this day commemorate! Under these auspices and by these instruments was at last completed an undertaking which had so long baffled the efforts of Statesmen and Heroes, of Corporations and of Kings! Said I not rightly that the Pilgrims had a power within them, and a Power over them, which was not only amply adequate to its accomplishment, but the only powers that were thus adequate? And who requires to be reminded what those powers were?

I fear not to be charged with New England bigotry or Puritan fanaticism in alluding to the Power which was over the Pilgrims in their humble but heroic enterprise. If Washington, in reviewing the events of our Revolutionary history, could say to the American Armies as he quitted their command, that "the singular interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving," and again to the American Congress, on first assuming the administration of the Union, that "every step by which the People of the United States had advanced to the character of an Independent Nation seemed to have been distinguished by some token of Providential agency," how much less can any one be in danger of subjecting himself to the imputation of indulging in a wild conceit or yielding to a weak superstition, by acknowledging, by asserting, a Divine intervention in the history of New England Colonization. It were easy, it is true, to convey the same sentiment in

more fashionable phraseology—to disguise an allusion to a Wonder-working Providence under the name of an extraordinary Fortune or cloak the idea of a Divine appointment under the title of a lucky accident. But I should feel that I dishonored the memory of our New England sires, and deserved the rebuke of their assembled sons, were I, on an occasion like the present, to resort to such miserable paltering.

No—I see something more than mere fortunate accidents or extraordinary coincidences in the whole discovery and colonization of our Country—in the age at which these events took place, in the People by whom they were effected, and more especially in the circumstances by which they were attended, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if ever I am ashamed to say so!

When I reflect that this entire Hemisphere of ours remained so long in a condition of primeval barbarism —that the very existence of its vast Continents was so long concealed from the knowledge of civilized man— that these colossal mountains so long lifted their summits to the sky and cast their shadows across the earth —that these gigantic rivers so long poured their mighty, matchless waters to the sea—that these magnificent forests so long waved their unrivalled foliage to the winds, and these luxuriant fields and prairies so long spread out their virgin sods before the sun—without a single intelligent human being to enjoy, to admire, or even to behold them—when I reflect to what heights of civilization, ambition and power so many of the Nations of the Old World were successively advanced, reaching a perfection in some branches of art and of science which has destined their very ruins to be the wonder, the delight, the study and the models of mankind for ever, and pushing their Commerce and

their Conquests over sea and shore with an energy so seemingly indomitable and illimitable, and yet that these seas and these shores, reserved for other Argonauts than those of Greece and other Eagles than those of Rome, were protected alike from the reach of their arts and their arms, from their rage for glory and their lust for spoils—when I reflect that all the varieties of roaming tribes which, up to the period of the events of which I speak, had found their way nobody knows when or from whence, to this Northern Continent at least, were so mysteriously endowed with a nature, not merely to make no progress in improvement and settlement of themselves, but even to resist and defy every influence which could be brought to bear upon them by others, except such as tended to their own extirpation and overthrow—how they shrank at the approach of the civilized settler, melting away as they retired, and marking the trail of their retreat, I had almost said, by the scent of their own graves—or, if some stragglers of a race less barbarous, at some uncertain epoch, were brought unknowingly upon our shores, that, instead of stamping the Rock upon which they landed with the unequivocal foot-prints of the Fathers of a mighty Nation, they only scratched upon its surface a few illegible characters, to puzzle the future antiquary to decide whether they were of Scandinavian or of Carthaginian, of Runic or of Punic origin, and to prove only this distinctly—that their authors were not destined to be the settlers, or even the discoverers, in any true sense of that term, of the Country upon which they had thus prematurely stumbled—when I reflect upon the momentous changes in the institutions of society and in the instruments of human power, which were crowded within the period which was ultimately signalized by this discovery and this settlement—*the press*, by its

magic enginery, breaking down every barrier and annihilating every monopoly in the paths of knowledge, and proclaiming all men equal in the arts of peace—*gunpowder*, by its tremendous properties, undermining the moated castles and rending asunder the plaited mail of the lordly Chieftains, and making all men equal on the field of battle—*the Bible*, rescued from its unknown tongues, its unauthorized interpretations and its unworthy perversions, opened at length in its original simplicity and purity to the world, and proving that all men were born equal in the eye of God—when I see learning reviving from its lethargy of centuries, religion reässerting its native majesty, and liberty—liberty itself—thus armed and thus attended, starting up anew to its long suspended career, and exclaiming, as it were, in the confidence of its new instruments and its new auxiliaries—"Give me now a place to stand upon—a place free from the interference of established power, a place free from the embarrassment of ancient abuses, a place free from the paralyzing influence of a jealous and overbearing prerogative—*give me but a place to stand upon and I will move the world*"—I cannot consider it, I cannot call it, a mere fortunate coincidence, that then, at that very instant, the veil of waters was lifted up, that place revealed, and the world moved!

When I reflect, too, on the Nation under whose reluctant auspices this revelation was finally vouchsafed to the longing vision of the intrepid Admiral—how deeply it was already plunged in the grossest superstitions and sensualities, how darkly it was already shadowed by the impending horrors of its Dread Tribunal, and how soon it was to lose the transient lustre which might be reflected upon it from the virtues of an Isabella, or the genius of a Charles V., and to sink into a long and rayless night of ignorance and oppression—when I look

back upon its sister kingdom of the Peninsula, also, which shared with it in reaping the teeming first fruits of the new found world, and find them matching each other not more nearly in the boldness of their maritime enterprise, than in the sternness of their religious bigotry and in the degradation of their approaching doom —and when I remember how both of these kingdoms, from any Colonies of whose planting there could have been so poor a hope of any early or permanent advancement to the cause of human freedom, were attracted and absorbed by the mineral and vegetable treasures of the tropical islands and territories and by the gorgeous empires which spirits of congenial grossness and sensuality had already established there—while this precise portion of America, these noble harbors, these glorious hills, these exhaustless valleys and matchless lakes, presenting a combination of climate and of soil, of land course and water course, marked and quoted as it were, by Nature herself, for the abode of a great, united and prosperous Republic—the rock-bound region of New England not excepted from the category, which, though it can boast of nothing nearer akin to gold or diamonds than the sparkling *mica* of its granite or the glittering crystals of its ice, was yet framed to produce a wealth richer than gold, and whose price is above rubies—the intelligent and virtuous industry of a free people—when I remember, I say, how this exact portion of the New World was held back for more than a century after its discovery, and reserved for the occupation and settlement of the only Nation under the sun able to furnish the founders of such a Republic and the progenitors of such a People—the very Nation in which the reforms and inventions of the day had wrought incomparably the most important results, and human improvement and human liberty made incalculably the largest ad-

vance—I cannot regard it, I cannot speak of it, as a mere lucky accident, that this Atlantic seaboard was settled by colonies of the Anglo-Saxon race!

And when, lastly, I reflect on the circumstances under which this settlement was in the end effected, on that part of the coast, more especially, which exerted a paramount influence on the early destinies of the Continent, and gave the first unequivocal assurance that virtue and industry and freedom were here to find a refuge and here to found themselves an empire—when I behold a feeble company of exiles, quitting the strange land to which persecution had forced them to flee, entering with so many sighs and sobs and partings and prayers on a voyage so full of perils at the best, but rendered a hundred fold more perilous by the unusual severities of the season and the absolute unseaworthiness of their ship, arriving in the depth of winter on a coast to which even their pilot was a perfect stranger, and where "they had no friends to welcome them, no inns to entertain them, no houses, much less towns, to repair unto for succor," but where,—instead of friends, shelter or refreshment,—famine, exposure, the wolf, the savage, disease and death seemed waiting for them—and yet accomplishing an end which Royalty and patronage, the love of dominion and of gold, individual adventure and corporate enterprise had so long essayed in vain, and founding a Colony which was to defy alike the machinations and the menaces of Tyranny, in all periods of its history—it needs not, it needs not, that I should find the coral pathway of the sea laid bare, and its waves a wall upon the right hand and the left, and the crazed chariot wheels of the oppressor floating in fragments upon its closing floods, to feel, to realize, that higher than human was the Power which presided over the Exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers!

Was it not something more than the ignorance or the self-will of an earthly and visible Pilot, which, instead of conducting them to the spot which they had deliberately selected—the very spot on which we are now assembled—the banks of your own beautiful Hudson, of which they had heard so much during their sojourn in Holland, but which were then swarming with a host of horrible savages—guided them to a coast, which though bleaker and far less hospitable in its outward aspect, had yet by an extraordinary epidemic, but a short time previous, been almost completely cleared of its barbarous tenants? Was it not something more, also, than mere mortal error or human mistake, which, instead of bringing them within the limits prescribed in the patent they had procured in England, directed them to a shore on which they were to land upon their own responsibility and under their own authority, and thus compelled them to an Act, which has rendered Cape Cod more memorable than Runnymede, and the Cabin of the Mayflower than the proudest Hall of ancient Charter or modern Constitution—the execution of the first written original Contract of Democratic Self-Government which is found in the annals of the World?

But the Pilgrims, I have said, had a power within them also. If God was not seen among them in the fire of a Horeb, or the earthquake of a Sinai, or the wind cleaving asunder the waves of the sea they were to cross, He was with them, at least, in the still, small voice. Conscience, Conscience, was the nearest to an earthly power which the Pilgrims possessed, and the freedom of Conscience the nearest to an earthly motive which prompted their career. It was Conscience, which "weaned them from the delicate milk of their Mother country and inured them to the difficulties of a strange land." It was Conscience, which made them

"not as other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again." It was Conscience—that "*robur et æs triplex circa pectus*"—which emboldened them to launch their fragile bark upon a merciless ocean, fearless of the fighting winds and lowering storms. It was Conscience, which stiffened them to brave the perils, endure the hardships, undergo the deprivations of a howling, houseless, hopeless desolation. And thus, almost in the very age when the Great Master of human nature, was putting into the mouth of one of his most interesting and philosophical characters, that well remembered conclusion of a celebrated soliloquy—

> "Thus *Conscience* does make *cowards* of us all,
> And thus the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
> And enterprises of great pith and moment
> With *this* regard, their currents turn awry,
> And lose the name of action—"

this very Conscience, a clog and an obstacle indeed, to its foes, but the surest strength and sharpest spur of its friends, was inspiring a courage, confirming a resolution, and accomplishing an enterprise, of which the records of the world will be searched in vain to find a parallel. Let it never be forgotten, that it was Conscience, and that, not entrenched behind broad seals, but enshrined in brave souls, which carried through and completed the long baffled undertaking of settling the New England coast.

But Conscience did more than this. It was that same still, small voice, which, under God, and through the instrumentality of the Pilgrims, pronounced the very Fiat of light in the creation of civilized society on this whole Northern Continent of America, exerting an

influence in the process of that creation, compared with which all previous influences were but so many movings on the face of the waters.

Let me not be thought, in this allusion and others like it in which I have already indulged, to slight the claims of the Virginia Colony, or to do designed injustice to its original settlers. There are laurels enough growing wild upon the graves of Plymouth, without tearing a leaf from those of Jamestown. New England does not require to have other parts of the country cast into shade, in order that the brightness of her own early days may be seen and admired. Least of all, would any son of New England be found uttering a word in wanton disparagement of "our noble, patriotic, sister Colony Virginia," as she was once justly termed by the Patriots of Faneuil Hall. There are circumstances of peculiar and beautiful correspondence in the careers of Virginia and New England, which must ever constitute a bond of sympathy, affection and pride between their children. Not only did they form respectively the great Northern and Southern rallying-points of civilization on this Continent—not only was the most friendly competition, or the most cordial co-operation, as circumstances allowed, kept up between them during their early colonial existence—but who forgets the generous emulation, the noble rivalry with which they continually challenged and seconded each other in resisting the first beginnings of British aggression, in the persons of their James Otises and Patrick Henrys? Who forgets, that, while that resistance was first brought to a practical test in New England, at Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill, fortune, as if resolved to restore the balance of renown between the two, reserved for the Yorktown of Virginia the last crowning victory of Independence? Who forgets that,

while the hand, by which the original Declaration of that Independence was drafted, was furnished by Virginia, the tongue by which the adoption of that Instrument was defended and secured, was supplied by New England—a bond of common glory, upon which not death alone seemed to set his seal, but Deity, I had almost said, to affix an immortal sanction, when the spirits by which that hand and tongue were moved, were caught up together to the clouds on the same great day of the Nation's Jubilee. Nor let me omit to allude to a peculiar distinction which belongs to Virginia alone. It is her preëminent honor and pride, that the name which the whole country acknowledges as that of a Father, she can claim as that of a Son—a name at which comparison ceases—to which there is nothing similar, nothing second—a name combining in its associations all that was most pure and godly in the nature of the Pilgrims, with all that was most brave and manly in the character of the Patriots—a name above every name in the annals of human liberty!

But I cannot refrain from adding, that not more does the fame of Washington surpass that of every other public character which America or the world at large, has yet produced, than the New England Colony, in its origin and its influences, its objects and its results, excels that from which Washington was destined to proceed.

In one point, indeed, and that, it is true, a point of no inconsiderable moment, the Colonies of Jamestown and Plymouth were alike.—Both were colonies of *Englishmen;*—and in running down the history of our Country from its first colonization to the present hour, I need hardly say that no single circumstance can be found, which has exercised a more propitious and elevating influence upon its fortunes, than the English

origin of its settlers. Not to take up time in discussing either the abstract adaptation of the Anglo-Saxon character to the circumstances of a New Country, or its relative capacity for the establishment and enjoyment of Free Institutions,—the most cursory glance at the comparative condition, past or present, of those portions of the New World, which were planted by other nations, is amply sufficient to illustrate this idea. Indeed, our own Continent affords an illustration of it, impressed upon us anew by recent events in the Canadian Colonies, which renders any reference to the other entirely superfluous. The contrast between the social, moral and intellectual state of the two parts of North America which were peopled respectively by Englishmen and Frenchmen, has been often alluded to. But a comparison of their political conditions exhibits differences still more striking.

Go back to the period immediately preceding the Stamp Act, and survey the circumstances of the two portions of Country, as they then existed. Both are in a state of Colonial dependence on Great Britain. But the one has just been reduced to that state by force of arms. Its fields and villages have just been the scenes of the pillage and plunder which always march in the train of conquest—the allegiance of their owners has been violently transferred to new masters as the penalty of defeat—and to keep alive the more certainly the vindictive feelings which belong to the bosoms of a vanquished people, and to frustrate the more entirely the natural influences of time and custom in healing up the wounds which such a subjugation has inflicted, the laws of their conquerors are enacted and administered in a strange tongue, and one which continually reminds them that the yoke under which they have passed, is that of a Nation towards which they have an hereditary

hatred.—The People of the other portion, on the contrary, owe their relation to the common Sovereign of them both, to nothing but their own natural and voluntary choice—feel towards the Nation over which he presides nothing but the attachment and veneration of children towards the parent of their pride, and are bound to it by the powerful ties of a common history, a common language, and a common blood. Tell me, now, which of the two will soonest grow impatient of its colonial restraint, soonest throw off its foreign subordination, and soonest assert itself free and independent?

And what other solution can any one suggest to the problem presented by the fact as it exists—the very reverse of that which would thus have been predicted—what other clue can any one offer to the mystery, that the French Colonies should have remained, not entirely quietly, indeed, but with only occasional returns of ineffectual throes and spasms, up to this very hour, in a political condition which every thing would seem to have conspired to render loathsome and abhorrent—while the English Colonies, snapping alike every link either of love or of power, breaking every bond both of affection and authority, resolved themselves into an Independent Nation half a century ago,—what other explanation, I repeat, can any one give to this paradox fulfilled, than that which springs from a consideration of the comparative capacities for self-improvement and self-government of the Races by which they were planted? A common history, a common language, a common blood, were, indeed, links of no ordinary strength, between the Atlantic Colonies and the Mother Country. But that language was the language in which Milton had sung, Pym pleaded, and Locke reasoned—that blood was the blood which Hampden had

poured out on the plain of Chalgrove, and in which Sidney and Russell had weltered on the block of Martyrdom—and that history had been the history of toiling, struggling, but still-advancing Liberty for a thousand years. Such links could only unite the free. They lost their tenacity in a moment, when attempted to be recast on the forge of despotism and employed in the service of oppression—nay, the brittle fragments into which they were broken in such a process, were soon moulded and tempered and sharpened into the very blades of a triumphant resistance. What more effective instruments, what more powerful incitements, did our Fathers enjoy, in their revolutionary struggle, than the lessons afforded them in the language, the examples held up to them in the history, the principles, opinions and sensibilities flowing from the hearts and vibrating through the veins, which they inherited from the very Nation against which they were contending!—Yes, let us not omit, even on this day, when we commemorate the foundation of a Colony which dates back its origin to British bigotry and British persecution, even in this connection, too, when we are speaking of that contest for Liberty which owed its commencement to British oppression and British despotism, to express our gratitude to God, that old England was, still, our Mother Country, and to acknowledge our obligations to our British Ancestors for the glorious capabilities which they bequeathed us.

But, with the single exception that both emigrated from England, the Colonies of Jamestown and Plymouth had nothing in common, and to all outward appearances, the former enjoyed every advantage. The two Companies, as it happened, though so long an interval elapsed between their reaching America, left their native land within about a year of each other; but

under what widely different circumstances did they embark! The former set sail from the port of the Metropolis, in a squadron of three vessels, under an experienced Commander, under the patronage of a wealthy and powerful Corporation, and with an ample patent from the Crown. The latter betook themselves to their solitary bark, by stealth, under cover of the night, and from a bleak and desert heath in Lincolnshire, while a band of armed horsemen, rushing down upon them before the embarkation was completed, made prisoners of all who were not already on board, and condemned husbands and wives, and parents and children, to a cruel and almost hopeless separation.

Nor did their respective arrivals on the American shores, though divided by a period of thirteen years, present a less signal contrast. The Virginia Colony entered the harbor of Jamestown about the middle of May, and never could that lovely Queen of Spring have seemed lovelier, than when she put on her flowery kirtle and her wreath of clusters, to welcome those admiring strangers to the enjoyment of her luxuriant vegetation. There were no Mayflowers for the Pilgrims, save the name, written, as in mockery, on the stern of their treacherous ship. They entered the harbor of Plymouth on the shortest day in the year, in this last quarter of December,—and when could the rigid Winter-King have looked more repulsive, than when, shrouded with snow and crowned with ice, he admitted those shivering wanderers within the realms of his dreary domination?

But mark the sequel. From a soil teeming with every variety of production for food, for fragrance, for beauty, for profit, the Jamestown Colonists reaped only disappointment, discord, wretchedness. Having failed in the great object of their adventure—the dis-

covery of gold—they soon grew weary of their condition, and within three years after their arrival are found on the point of abandoning the Country. Indeed, they are actually embarked, one and all, with this intent, and are already at the mouth of the River, when, falling in with new hands and fresh supplies which have been sent to their relief, they are induced to return once more to their deserted village.

But even up to the very year in which the Pilgrims landed, ten years after this renewal of their designs, they "had hardly become settled in their minds," had hardly abandoned the purpose of ultimately returning to England, and their condition may be illustrated by the fact, that in 1619 and again in 1621, cargoes of young women, (a commodity of which there was scarcely a sample in the whole plantation—and would to God, that all the traffic in human flesh on the Virginian Coast even at this early period had been as innocent in itself and as beneficial in its results!) were sent out by the Corporation in London and sold to the planters for wives, at from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco apiece!

Nor was the political condition of the Jamestown Colony much in advance of its social state. The Charter, under which they came out, contained not a single element of popular liberty, and secured not a single right or franchise to those who lived under it. And, though a gleam of freedom seemed to dawn upon them in 1619, when they instituted a Colonial Assembly and introduced the Representative System for the first time into the New World, the precarious character of their popular institutions and the slender foundation of their popular liberties at a much later period, even as far down as 1671, may be understood from that extraordinary declaration of Sir William Berkeley, then Gover-

nor of Virginia, to the Lords Commissioners:—"I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing—and I hope we shall not have these hundred years;—for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

But how was it with the Pilgrims? From a soil of comparative barrenness, they gathered a rich harvest of contentment, harmony and happiness. Coming to it for no purpose of commerce or adventure, they found all that they sought—*religious freedom*—and that made the wilderness to them like Eden, and the desert as the garden of the Lord.—Of quitting it, from the very hour of their arrival, they seem never once to have entertained, or even conceived, a thought. The first foot that leapt gently but fearlessly on Plymouth Rock was a pledge that there would be no retreating—tradition tells us, that it was the foot of Mary Chilton. They have brought their wives and their little ones with them, and what other assurance could they give that they have come to their *home?* And accordingly they proceed at once to invest it with all the attributes of home, and to make it a free and a happy home. The Compact of their own adoption under which they landed, remained the sole guide of their government for nine years, and though it was then superseded by a Charter from the Corporation within whose limits they had fallen, it was a Charter of a liberal and comprehensive character, and under its provisions they continued to lay broad and deep the foundations of Civil Freedom. The trial by jury was established by the Pilgrims within three years after their arrival, and constitutes the appropriate opening of the first chapter of their legislation. The education of their children, as

we have seen, was one of their main motives for leaving Holland, and there is abundant evidence that it was among the earliest subjects of their attention—while the planters of Massachusetts, who need not be distinguished from the planters of Plymouth for any purposes of this comparison, founded the College at Cambridge in 1636—set up a printing press at the same place in 1639, which "divulged," in its first workings at least, nothing more libellous or heretical than a Psalm-book and an Almanac—and as early as 1647 had instituted, by an ever memorable Statute, that noble system of New England Free Schools, which constitutes at this moment the best security of Liberty, wherever Liberty exists, and its best hope, wherever it is still to be established.

It would carry me far beyond the allowable limits of this Address, if, indeed, I have not already exceeded them, to contrast in detail, the respective influences upon our Country and, through it, upon the world, of these two original Colonies. The elements for such a contrast I have already suggested, and I shall content myself with only adding further upon this point, the recent and very remarkable testimony of two most intelligent French travellers, whose writings upon the United States have justly received such distinguished notice on both sides the Atlantic.

"I have already observed," says De Tocqueville, that "the origin of the American settlements may be looked upon as the first and most efficacious cause, to which the present prosperity of the United States may be attributed. . . . When I reflect upon the consequences of this primary circumstance, methinks, I see the destiny of America embodied in the first PURITAN who landed on these shores, just as the human race was represented by the first man."

"If we wished," says Chevalier, "to form a single type, representing the American character of the present moment as a single whole, it would be necessary to take at least three-fourths of the Yankee race and to mix it with hardly one-fourth of the Virginian."

But the Virginia type was not complete when it first appeared on the coast of Jamestown, and I must not omit, before bringing these remarks to a conclusion, to allude to one other element of any just comparison between the two Colonies.—The year 1620 was unquestionably the great Epoch of American Destinies. Within its latter half were included the two events which have exercised incomparably the most controlling influence on the character and fortunes of our Country. At the very time the Mayflower, with its precious burden, was engaged in its perilous voyage to Plymouth, another ship, far otherwise laden, was approaching the harbor of Virginia. It was a Dutch man-of-war, and its cargo consisted in part of *twenty slaves*, which were subjected to sale on their arrival, and with which the foundations of domestic slavery in North America were laid.

I see those two fate-freighted vessels, laboring under the divided destinies of the same Nation, and striving against the billows of the same sea, like the principles of good and evil advancing side by side on the same great ocean of human life. I hear from the one the sighs of wretchedness, the groans of despair, the curses and clankings of struggling captivity, sounding and swelling on the same gale, which bears only from the other the pleasant voices of prayer and praise, the cheerful melody of contentment and happiness, the glad, the glorious "anthem of the free." Oh, could some angel arm, like that which seems to guide and guard the Pilgrim bark, be now interposed to arrest, avert,

dash down and overwhelm its accursed compeer! But it may not be. They have both reached in safety the place of their destination. Freedom and Slavery, in one and the same year, have landed on these American shores. And American Liberty, like the Victor of ancient Rome, is doomed, let us hope not for ever, to endure the presence of a fettered captive as a companion in her Car of Triumph!

Gentlemen of the New England Society in the City of New York—I must detain you no longer. In preparing to discharge the duty, which you have done me the unmerited honor to assign me in the celebration of this hallowed Anniversary, I was more than once tempted to quit the narrow track of remark which I have now pursued and indulge in speculations or discussions of a more immediate and general interest. But it seemed to me that if there was any day in the year which belonged of right to the past and the dead, this was that day, and to the past and the dead I resolved to devote my exclusive attention. But though I have fulfilled that resolution, as you will bear me witness, with undeviating fidelity, many of the topics which I had proposed to myself seem hardly to have been entered upon—some of them scarcely approached. The principles of the Pilgrims, the virtues of the Pilgrims, the faults of the Pilgrims—alas! there are enough always ready to make the most of these—the personal characters of their brave and pious leaders, Bradford, Brewster, Carver, Winslow, Alden, Allerton, Standish,—the day shall not pass away without their names being once at least audibly and honorably pronounced—the gradual rise and progress of the Colony they planted, and of the old Commonwealth with which it was early incorporated, the origin and growth of the other Colonies,

Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and the rest, which were afterwards included within the limits of New England, and many of the sons of all of which are doubtless present here this day—the history of New England as a whole, its great deeds and great men, its schools and scholars, its heroes and battle-fields, its ingenuity and industry, its soil,—hard and stony, indeed, but of inestimable richness in repelling from its culture the idle, the ignorant and the enslaved, and developing the energies of free, intelligent, independent labor—the influences of New England abroad as well as at home, its emigration, ever onward, with the axe in one hand and the Bible in the other, clearing out the wild growth of buckeye and hickory, and planting the trees of knowledge and of life, driving the buffalo from forest to lake, from lake to prairie, and from prairie to the sea, till the very memory of its existence would seem likely to be lost, but for the noble City, which its pursuers, pausing for an instant on their track, have called by its name, and founded on its favorite haunt—these and a hundred other themes of interesting and appropriate discussion, have, I am sensible, been quite omitted. But I have already exhausted your patience, or certainly my own strength, and I hasten to relieve them both.

It has been suggested, Gentlemen, by one of the French Travellers, whose opinions I have just cited, that, though the Yankee has set his mark on the United States during the last half century, and though "he still rules the Nation," that yet, the physical labor of civilization is now nearly brought to an end, the physical basis of society entirely laid, and that other influences are soon about to predominate in rearing up the social superstructure of our Nation. I hail the existence of this Association, and of others like it in all parts of the

Union, bound together by the noble cords of "friendship, charity and mutual assistance," as a pledge that New England principles, whether in ascendancy or under depression in the Nation at large, will never stand in need of warm hearts and bold tongues to cherish and vindicate them. But, at any rate, let us rejoice that they have so long pervaded the country and prevailed in her institutions. Let us rejoice that the basis of her society has been laid by Yankee arms. Let us rejoice that the corner-stone of our Republican edifice was hewn out from the old, original, primitive, Plymouth quarry. In what remains to be done, either in finishing or in ornamenting that edifice, softer and more pliable materials may, perhaps, be preferred—the New England granite may be thought too rough and unwieldy—the architects may condemn it—the builders may reject it—but still, still, it will remain the deep and enduring foundation, not to be removed without undermining the whole fabric. And should that fabric be destined to stand, even when bad government shall descend upon it like the rains, and corruption come round about it like the floods, and faction, discord, disunion, and anarchy blow and beat upon it like the winds,—as God grant it may stand forever!—it will still owe its stability to no more effective earthly influence, than, THAT IT WAS FOUNDED ON PILGRIM ROCK.

NOTES

Pages 225 and 227.—In this description, and in some other of the narrative portions of the Address, I have employed phrases and paragraphs gleaned here and there from the writings of Prince, Morton, and others, without deeming it necessary to disfigure the pages by too frequent a use of the *inverted commas*. I might cite abundant authority for such a liberty.

P. 233.—For the opportunity of perusing this Dialogue, I am indebted to Rev. Alexander Young, by whom it was copied from the Plymouth Church Records. I am happy to be able to add, that Mr. Young is engaged in preparing for the press, a volume to be entitled "The Old Chronicles of the Plymouth Colony, collected partly from original records and unpublished manuscripts, and partly from scarce tracts, hitherto unknown in this Country," in which this Dialogue will be contained, and which will be, in fact, a history of the Plymouth People, written by themselves, from 1602 to 1624. Mr. Young confidently expects to be able to recover or restore the most valuable portion of Gov. Bradford's History, which was used by Prince and Hutchinson, but which disappeared during the War of the Revolution, and has been supposed to be irrevocably lost.

P. 241.—Von Müller, in his Universal History, speaks of "the monument apparently *Punic*, which was found some years ago in the forests behind Boston," and adds, "it is possible that some Tyrians or Carthaginians, thrown by storms upon unknown coasts, uncertain if ever the same tracts might be again discovered, chose to leave this monument of their adventures." He refers, without doubt, to the same Rock at Dighton, which the Society of Northern Antiquaries in Denmark claim as conclusive evidence of the discovery of America by the Scandinavians.

P. 254.—The distinction of being the first person that set foot on Plymouth Rock has been claimed for others beside Mary Chilton, and particularly for *John Alden*. But I could not resist the remark of Judge Davis on this point, in one of his notes to Morton's Memorial. After quoting the language of another, that "for the purposes of the arts a female figure, typical of faith, hope, and charity, is well adapted,"—he observes, that "as there is a great degree of uncertainty on this subject, it is not only grateful, but allowable, to indulge the imagination, and we may expect from the friends of John Alden, that they should give place to the lady."

THE ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL GREATNESS

Prof. CHARLES BRICKETT HADDUCK

1841

CHARLES BRICKETT HADDUCK

(1796-1876.)

The orator of 1841 was one of Dartmouth's professors, Charles Brickett Hadduck, a nephew of Daniel Webster. Mr. Hadduck was a native of New Hampshire and educated at Dartmouth College. Forced by ill health to give up the ministry, he returned to the college in 1817 as tutor, and was shortly elected to the chair of literature, rhetoric, philosophy, and political economy. A volume of "Addresses and Miscellaneous Writings" was published in 1846. In 1850 Mr. Hadduck was appointed minister to Portugal. He was a man of great public spirit, giving his time without stint to all matters of benefit to town or state. A portrait shows an impressive face, with heavy hair, straight nose, and deep-set eyes.

Professor Brown, in writing of Mr. Hadduck, says: "As an instructor I have never known a better. He was discriminating and quietly suggestive, guided by a taste that was nearly immaculate. His scholarship was unobtrusive and his manner without ostentation. He made no boast of knowledge, but it was always sufficient, always fresh, always sound."

DISCOURSE

WINTER, which seems so like the death of the year, is, really, its birth—the season of buds and germs, insensibly and mysteriously maturing for the bloom and fragrance of Spring.

The period of history, which preceded the discovery of America, is the WINTER of modern civilization. The Truth, Beauty and Life, which have since opened and ripened on the renovated fields of the Old World, or in the virgin soil of the New, all lay folded up, and were nursed by invisible agencies, in the midst of the torpor and dreariness of the middle ages.

To use a somewhat triter figure, men slept away the long, long night, that followed the brief bright day of classic art and philosophy. In this sleep of intellect, however, they dreamed—dreamed beautiful dreams. In their unquiet rest, they pursued unreal objects, with more than natural earnestness; fought imaginary foes with Quixotic valor; discussed unphilosophical questions with unequalled acuteness and indomitable pertinacity; and enacted scenes of dazzling brilliancy, heroic passion, or chivalrous generosity, which have given inspiration to ambition, and supplied material for History and Romance, Philosophy and Poetry, ever since.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century, this moral winter broke up—day dawned on this night of a thousand years.

A bit of iron had been taught to point, with intelligent fidelity, to the pole, by day or night, by land or sea. A black powder had been invented, which imitated, at once, the terrific grandeur, and the scathing power of the thunder. The long-buried classics were exhumed. The Christian Scriptures began to be studied with a free spirit. Mind was roused to unwonted effort, and was putting itself forth with youthful freedom and enthusiasm. The great nations, situated upon the waters of Western Europe, hitherto separated and isolated from each other, came into intimate and exciting relations. The effect of these various causes, each in itself sufficient to change the course of events, and all coming suddenly into action, was to produce a degree of agitation, and to develope phenomena of society, which history was never before called to record. It resembled the meeting of the rivers—the majestic swell, or the tumultuous ambition, of the sea, that restless congregation of the waters.

The old limits were too narrow for the new energies and new enterprise of Europe. The Mediterranean and the Northern Seas had lost their terrors, and, consequently, their novelty and romance, also. The navigator, now fearless alike of nature and of man, boldly pushed his bark into unfrequented oceans. Vasco da Gama met and vanquished the terrible phantom, that had so long guarded the stormy Cape. Columbus, as if really inspired by the beautiful Hesper, to whose guardian Divinity our own epic Poet (would he had many such conceptions) has so happily assigned this latest Hesperia, and nearest to the setting sun, pursued his high calling, from court to court, and, with infinite faith and constancy, held on his way, till, with enraptured eye, he saw the shores of the New World. Most fortunate—most favored of mortals, how little we know thee! how little we honor thee by our regrets

and our commiseration! Thou wast unkindly, cruelly dealt with—denied even the poor privilege of engraving thy name upon the Continent which thy genius gave to the world. But who, that knows what is in man, and how Heaven bestows its richest gifts on him, who would not welcome the forgetfulness of Princes, the ingratitude of nations and the dungeons of Castile, for the moral triumph of that hour, when the great hope of thy life, so long delayed, was at last realized? The jealousies of statesmen pass away; the malice of rivals is not immortal; the great Continent itself will disappear. But the consciousness of that signal glory is part of thyself, and can never die.

To the awakened nations of Western Europe, in this unexampled state of things, gazing with equal surprise on the brightening lights of ancient Italy and Greece, and holy Palestine, and on the undefined wonders of the new Hemisphere, it must have seemed almost as if Morning and Evening, in a playful freak, interchanging places, had conspired to adorn the day together—so like enchantment must have appeared to them the sunset of the East, and the dawn in the West.

At this high-souled period, in this blushing "redolent springtime" of our civilization, Europe—Magna mater virûm—sent over her Colonies to America; and the Continent opened its bosom to receive the best—Adam Smith has said, the only—gift which the New World owes to the Old, A RACE OF GREAT MEN.

The principal nations entered into an earnest contest for priority and preëminence in the new found lands. And, in little more than a century, the coast had been surveyed from Mount Raleigh, in the north, "the cliffs whereof were orient as gold," to

> "Where Magellan lifts his torch on high
> To light the meeting of the oceans."

Of this seven thousand miles of coast a considerable part was sprinkled with European settlements, and its forests indented with smiling bays of cultivation.

The foremost, in this new field, were Spain, France and Great Britain, all leading nations at the time, and in the subsequent history of Europe.

To Spain, heroic, chivalrous, religious, already consolidated under Ferdinand and Isabella; still full of the energy which her original tribes had acquired among the hills of Asturia and the Pyrenees, and fresh from the conquest of Grenada, which had just crowned a war of seven centuries for the recovery of their native land—to Spain, then at the head of Europe, and the first to plant colonies in America, fell the vast territory, which stretches from the forty-third degree of South, to the thirty-seventh degree of North latitude, exceeding the Russian Empire in extent; possessing the utmost variety of climate and scenery, a fresh vitality of soil, and inexhaustible mineral riches; and occupied by timid natives, who, stupefied by the dreadful energy of European warfare, yielded up their treasures almost without a struggle, and resigned their entire country to a mere handful of armed men.

The French, alike ambitious of foreign dominion, industrious, frugal; luxuriating in the garden of Europe, and yet easy of adaptation to the exigencies of life and the accidents of fortune; capable equally of profound science and exquisite refinement; prone always to liberal sentiments and grand achievement, laid claim to the fairest portion of North America. Her navigators and missionaries, ambitious of the national honor, or stimulated by Christian charity, had traced the Mississippi almost from its fountains to the gulf, and had followed the St. Lawrence, through its long chain of inland seas, to where but a hand's breadth of land, as it

were, separates the Falls of St. Anthony, the head of navigation on the Mississippi, from the western extremity of Lake Superior.

Never, surely, was so magnificent a theatre of colonial enterprise presented to a people. Over the immense and fertile valleys, watered by those vast streams, private enterprise had caused the Lilies of France to nod in peaceful supremacy. But, alas for the successors of the great Louis, over this broad and beautiful domain, other lords were destined to have dominion.

To England, besides a precarious foothold in the frozen north, the right of discovery had given not quite all the coast from Halifax to Florida—the shore only of a fraction of the northern half of the continent—a narrow, irregular belt of land, between the mountains and the sea, which the Virgin Queen, who was pleased to compliment the solitude of her maiden throne by giving it a name, could she now revisit the scene of her wizard empire, might survey, in its length and breadth, in hardly more time than was taken up in her Majesty's "Progress" from Hampton Court to Kenilworth Castle.

The record of the progress and results of these great colonial enterprises is the most instructive and the most exciting passage of history. It is crowded with great truths and romantic incidents—truths, which shine as beacon lights, from the annals of Marshall, Grahame and Sparks; incidents, which give a brilliant coloring and pathetic interest to the eloquent pictures of Robertson and Bancroft. It opens wider views, than are any where else exhibited, of the social capacities of man; and excites higher hopes of the destinies of the race.

It is now exactly three hundred years since Spanish heroes with incredible courage, and all but miraculous success, completed the conquest of the last of the seven

great empires which, at the time of its discovery, occupied the Southern portion of America.

The descendants of the Spanish colonists do not, probably, fall short of six millions. And what have they done? what one great point have they gained? They inhabit the best watered, the healthiest, the richest, the most picturesque peninsula on the map of the world. They have enjoyed the lights of modern knowledge and Christianity. They inherit a copious and cultivated language. They have had access to one of the rich literatures of the old world. The art of printing was introduced among them before the Pilgrims emigrated; and, in 1700, they had published more than all the northern colonies together. Yet, it can hardly be said, that, in three centuries, they have improved the morals, or advanced the civilization, or, in any material respect, bettered the condition of this fair but unfortunate part of the earth. The injustice and ferocity of their unprovoked warfare upon the natives, are atoned for by no regulated Christian societies, rising on the ruins of ancient superstition, and gladdening the gloomy path of conquest. Patriotism has not withheld her sacrifices; humanity has pleaded through eloquent and holy lips; the sympathy and the prayers of all the free have been cordially proffered to them; treasure has been expended, by them, beyond calculation; blood has been shed in rivers. But not one useful institution has been permanently established; not one new art, invented; not one new truth, discovered. The traveller, among the undeciphered ruins of an ancient civilization, which impart a solemn grandeur to their aerial plains, wearied with the alternations of anarchy and despotism, and disgusted with the mockeries of Religion, is ready to invoke the resurrection of Mexico and Peru, of Montezuma and the Incas. And, as if in retri-

bution for the wrongs inflicted on an unoffending people, the parent state, herself, has been impoverished by the very wealth of her possessions; degraded by the instrument of her aggrandizement; enfeebled by the accession of power.

France followed Spain in the career of colonization. French emigrants were early settled in Florida; on the St. Lawrence, from the ocean to the Lakes; and thence down the Mississippi and its branches, to the Gulf; thus making a continuous line of hamlets and towns along these great waters, and through the very heart of these wooded plateaus and ocean savannas, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Mediterranean sea of America.

Of these settlements, suggested originally by patriotism and religion, and conducted with comparative humanity, not one maintains, at this distance of time, its original French character. In America, just as in the far east and in Europe itself, power has been gradually and sensibly passing into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The most unmixed French population, on this side the sea, lines, with its unvarying aspect and its unenterprising cultivation, the shores of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to Montreal. Here, in a beautiful valley, fringed on one side by the verdant banks of this noble river, and on the other by primitive forests, that nearly shade their narrow meadows, this contented and inefficient people, with some of the best blood of Europe in their veins, like the sons and daughters of Abyssinia in the Happy Valley, "pleased with each other and with themselves," live without achievement or ambition. Beyond the daily supply of daily wants, they seem to dream of nothing better for themselves than a pipe and a fiddle; and nothing better for their children than to divide the old farm between them, and live as their fathers lived before them.

Neither Spain nor France has, at present, a foot of land on our continent. Nor has either of these original proprietors of nearly all its best soil, the pride to see a single colony of hers enjoying an established government of its own, and cherishing, with filial gratitude, or generous emulation, the literature and arts of the parent country. The names of some scores of rivers, mountains and cities, and these disfigured often by a foreign pronunciation, are almost the only memorials of their splendid colonial enterprises which either of them would care to recognize.

How different the destiny of the English colonies. England, occupied with engrossing objects at home, was behind her rivals in the west by half a century. She was shut up to a territory comparatively small, sterile and austere. Yet the few, unaided adventurers, who planted themselves between Cape Fear and Passamaquoddy Bay, have, in little more than two centuries, increased to seventeen millions. They have, I may say, invented a free government. They have maintained popular liberty for more than two hundred years. They have a commerce second only to that of the "Queen of the Northern Seas." And, though separated from the seats of transatlantic power, by three thousand miles of ocean, they claim to be respected in the counsels of the remotest member of the European family of nations. Our western boundary, which originally ran along the nearest highlands, has, like the visible horizon, fled before us, as we have advanced, till, at length, the sun rises in our own seas, and, in our own seas, sinks to rest. We are spreading free institutions, popular education, and Protestant Christianity over an undisputed domain, four times greater, in extent, than Spain, France and Great Britain together.

Of this aspiring and noble lineage, Gentlemen, are

we, who meet to celebrate "Forefathers' Day," in the city of New Amsterdam.

The remainder of the hour, which your kindness has assigned to me on this occasion, how can I better occupy than by inviting your attention to a cursory view of some of THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES *of the character and the progress*, which it has been our fortune, as a people, thus to present to the study of the historian and the instruction of mankind?

It is not Fate, it is not accident, Gentlemen, which has made this wide difference in the history of the settlers on these shores.

The present prosperous condition, and the glorious prospects of our country, are the natural growth of seeds early sown. They are the unforced development of germs of success and greatness that were brought over with Smith, and Winslow, and Cotton, and Hooker, and Davenport. They found here all they wanted, a vital soil, a pure air, and room to grow.

Our expansion has been mainly from two centres, Virginia and New England. These primitive settlements were equally English—offshoots from the same stock. They drew their blood from common ancestors. They spoke a common language. They possessed a common inheritance in the literature and history of the parent state. They brought with them the same feeling of filial regard for the home they loved and left beyond the sea. They were equally of the seventeenth century, and of the reformed church. And here the parallel ends.

The leading men, in the two communities, were of different ranks in society. The titled and high-born, for the most part, went to the south. The New England colonists were nearly all of the middle class of Englishmen. They differed, also, in the degree of

reformation to which they had gone in religion. The Church of England was represented in Virginia; the Pilgrims were Protestants of the Protestants. Their ideas of civil government were equally unlike. The former had no antipathy to the Stuarts; the latter had strong democratic sympathies and tendencies. They emigrated for different ends; the Virginian for wealth, or the love of adventure, or the honor of old England; the New Englander for a place ever so remote, some quiet nook, where he might enjoy his own religion in his own way. They took up their abode in different latitudes and on different soils.

Both Virginia and New England have acted conspicuous parts in our history. Both have produced great men in our public councils, and in every line of life. Each has borne its part in the new development of humanity in the New World. And each can afford to award to the other its full meed of praise.

But it can hardly be denied, that, of the seventeen millions of people, who are spreading themselves over our two million square miles of territory, by far the greatest number are of New England origin. The great Western world is full of her sons. They abound in the towns and places of business, the schools, colleges, and professions of the whole country. Your own city, the emporium of America, the pride of commerce, the nurse of enterprise, in which so many races meet, and from which radiate moral and Christian influences, to gladden the remotest dwellings of men, gives proof irrefragable of the permeating and prolific spirit of New England.

The peculiarities of American character—our distinctive national features—are New England. The Virginian belongs more to the Old World. His solitary manor, his feudal hospitality, his chivalrous honor and

frankness, his lofty bearing, his amusements even, his hounds and his horses, all associate him with the knights and cavaliers of England. The ashes of Raleigh and Smith sleep in the bosom of their native island; but their high souls are reproduced still in the country of which one of them said, "Heaven and earth seem never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation."

Nothing is more difficult than to draw broad lines of distinction between portions of the same people. Nowhere is it more hazardous to attempt it than among us. Our migratory habits, the easy and frequent intercourse of all parts of the country, our common institutions of government and education, are constantly counteracting local influences and associations, and tend always to the production of a uniform national character.

Still, the cheerful industry, the hardy enterprise, the ingenuity, the calculation, the self-reliance, the thrift, which distinguish the occidental form of Saxon civilization, have, beyond dispute, their seat and their source, chiefly, in the land of the Pilgrims. The traits, by which we are most known abroad, and most clearly discriminated, as a peculiar people, are Yankee traits.

The very offences and foibles of our character are mostly of New England origin. To drive a bargain, to ask questions, to take liberties with gentlemen, to guess, whistle and whittle, are really Yankee traits. They are so, because, in certain circumstances, they naturally grow out of the same constitution of the man, which fits him to level the forest with his axe; to cover the rock with verdure; to ply every bay of every ocean with his oar; to attack and subdue the whale, in his own element, while the sea is boiling like a pot about him, and neither land nor ship is to be seen; and to lead in so many of the moral enterprises of the world. In

the New England gentleman there is as perfect self-possession, as delicate personal intercourse, as honorable bearing, as adorn life any where. But men instinct with freedom, vital in every part, are schooled to composure and courtesy only by the stern discipline of cultivated life. How much this refining discipline is enjoyed in New England, a stranger would be surprised to see, not only in her cities and larger towns, but hardly less even in the sweet villages, which give an air of humanity to her wild streams and green mountains. The *gross, little* traits of the real Jonathan are the *vulgar* development of that spirit of progress, that love of knowledge, that impatience of rest, that liberty, which are the pledges, because they are real elements, of greatness.

We may wish it were otherwise. One is reasonably ashamed to be awkward, though it be only because he does not know how to stand still. It is a pity that we ever violate the rules of good breeding, though in the innocency of our hearts. Far be it from me to justify the murder of the king's English, albeit without malice aforethought, or to suggest an apology even for the petty mischief perpetrated with the penknife. We confess to the charge; we bare our backs to the lash; happy, if these are our chiefest sins. It is a mercy that they are so harmless. I recollect but one instance of any fatal consequence, and that was the ever-to-be-regretted misfortune of the eloquent and amiable consort of Rip Van Winkle, who is recorded, I think, to have broken a blood-vessel, in a fit of passion at a New England pedlar.

The character of our New England ancestors may, without over-refinement, be resolved into two principles—A PECULIAR SENSE OF INDIVIDUALITY; AND A PECULIAR FEELING OF SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP TO GOD.

These are, indeed, characteristics of English mind—of free Christian mind everywhere. They are no otherwise peculiar to New England, than as they have existed there in unusual simplicity and intensity. They have been developed there more freely and more harmoniously than elsewhere; unchecked in their natural action; unencumbered by existing institutions. They have, there, had to contend with no traditionary prejudices, no artificial states of society. Twin daughters of Knowledge and Faith, they grew up together in our clear mountain air, and by the shore of the same sea, which rolled in the bay and froze on the rocks, when the Pilgrims landed from the Mayflower.

The great problem of life has been to maintain *the true union and the true distinction of humanity and Divinity*. Men are prone either to annihilate themselves, that they may honor God, or to exalt themselves by forgetting Him. The first extreme is Fatalism, and leads either to inaction, or to fanaticism. The other extreme is Presumption, the parent of inconsistency, folly and weakness.

The Reformation was itself a great struggle for the more perfect union of these two elements of human character. The individual had been lost in the Church and the State. The man had been allowed no distinct personality, no reason, no will, of his own. He was not esteemed a soul in himself—but a member of the common mind—not an integer, but a fraction. He might think; but only as he was taught. He was expected to act, but only as he was bid. His individuality was thus merged in authority. The philosophy of the system was a kind of Pantheism of man. It admitted his existence, and denied his personality.

Infidelity, to which unregulated reason rushed, under the intoxication of suddenly acquired liberty, and

which, at one time, threatened the destruction of both religion and government, is the opposite extreme. It severed the golden chain that draws man upward to his God, and left the human mind to waste itself in blind endeavors after an unknown good, to feel, in the dark, for what, after all, it more than insinuated is never to be found.

In England this great contest ended, at length, in the establishment of a national Protestant Church; a system of worship so evangelical in its doctrine, so beautiful in its ritual, so reverent in its forms, that a considerate man would hardly have meditated a change. The Puritans themselves did not, at first, entertain the thought of a separate worship. They only prayed to be tolerated; or, if they must conform, to be indulged with the omission of certain forms of expression, and certain ceremonies, which savored of Rome. Failing in this, and driven by tyranny to the extreme limit of endurance, they left the Church and the kingdom.

It was a great struggle, and a great determination. When I read that the little company, who thus fled with the ark of liberty, to the free States of Holland, and thence to the freer forests of America, were all young men, most of them from twenty to thirty, I feel how wicked, and how impotent, is that authority which denies to man a personal and moral independence.

The consequence of this movement, in the north of England, was a fuller development of the right of private judgment, a higher estimate of intelligent moral existence, a nobler idea of the ends of all order, civil and religious, and a juster apprehension of the means of social happiness, than had ever before been attained. It taught us to attach a higher character to life, by discovering in it nobler elements. Man, in any form, and in any stage of his existence, was no longer regarded

as a thing, or a creature, or a subject; he became a spiritual independent being, with sacred capacities, with inviolable rights and untransferable responsibilities. Standing erect on the basis of his own conscience, he looked over and above all principalities and powers to the throne of God.

Such, in the practical philosophy of the Pilgrims, was the idea of man—a great idea, though to us so obvious. This alone, however, did not suffice to fit them for their high calling. This idea of man wanted a counterpart in the idea of God. Giving, therefore, to man this absolute finite moral being, they ascribed to God absolute infinite moral being—*intelligent Sovereignty and Free Grace.* Thus they brought into immediate contact and practical harmony the two opposite poles of human nature—*action and submission; freedom and destiny; individuality and dependence.* I speak not here as a metaphysician. I care not to meddle with the theology of the Pilgrims as a system; I look at it only as an historical element of their character. They, like the Huguenots of France, undoubtedly belonged to the school of Geneva. But, whatever may be thought of the metaphysics of the disciples or the master, we know, as an historical fact, that no men have held stronger opinions upon human freedom than they, who, at the same time, believed in a special Providence, a spiritual adoption to an intimate relationship to God, an election of grace to accomplish important purposes in the world. They felt themselves to have been divinely called. They saw nothing in life but a mission, a fulfilment of the purposes and promises of Heaven. Erecting themselves on this lofty sense of the supernatural, the infinite, the Divine, with the book of promise in their hands, and the faith of Abraham in their hearts, nothing was impossible to them; they could do all things;

they could bear all things. In the beautiful and touching letter of Robinson to the Church of Plymouth, written immediately after the mortality of the first winter, which carried off full half their numbers, "In a battle," says this apostolic man, "it is not to be looked for but that divers should die." When one after another of their little band fell a victim to death, it is affecting to observe the simple entry made in their journal, "This day died" such and such an one. And when, in the following summer, the Mayflower was preparing to return, notwithstanding the sickness, and sufferings, and mortality of the preceding winter, not one man, not one woman was ready to go back.

These ideas of man and of God, as they pre-supposed THOUGHT, so they nourished it. Thought, reflection, the study of ourselves, and our great spiritual relations, are the elements of such ideas. The free use of our own intellects, the unrestrained action of Christian sentiments, constituted, in an eminent degree, the *ideal* of man, in our fathers' estimation. Hence their peculiar, characteristic *self-respect*—the honor they put upon their own nature; a feeling, which, though sometimes it may wear the semblance of disrespect to authority, to age, to merit, is, nevertheless, among the first principles of all dignified and lofty action, all enthusiasm for liberty, and all genuine charity.

Hence their zeal for popular instruction, for intelligent preaching, for academic education. And hence, what was, perhaps, of more influence than any one thing beside, their singular domestic discipline; a discipline, which gave to the house of a Pilgrim father an order that likened it to a camp; a culture, that likened it to a school; and a worship that made it a Bethel.

Every town of fifty families was, by law, obliged to maintain a schoolmaster; and when the number reached

a hundred, a grammar school, where young men might be fitted for the University, an institution in actual operation at Cambridge, and fostered by all the New England Colonies, within twenty years from the landing at Plymouth. Every town had a place of worship and a minister of the Gospel. When new swarms went out from the parent hive, they settled together in some sunny meadow, or on some mountain stream; and thus formed a village, a compact neighborhood, for the express purpose of enjoying a common school and a common worship. The southern colonists, from the nature of their agriculture, lived dispersed and widely separated. They had no convenient little centres, with a mill, a blacksmith's shop, a store, a schoolhouse, a church, and a parsonage; where the people of a town are accustomed to meet, to discuss the public interests, to exercise their civil rights, to learn and to worship together.

These facilities for popular improvement in New England were rendered doubly efficient by the fact, that many of the first emigrants were not only pious but educated men, scholars as well as divines and politicians. And their talents and acquisitions were all consecrated to the enterprise in which they had embarked. Their conversation, their preaching, their writings, were all imbued with the Pilgrim spirit; all tended to throw over the original design of the Colonies, and their Heaven-directed history, an air at once of romance and of inspiration, and to give to the first period of the settlement the character and influence of a golden age. The number of journals, sermons, histories, and other works, published among them before the end of the century, and almost all adapted to impress the features of the Pilgrims, deeply and indelibly, upon their posterity, is scarcely credible. All this while the southern

people had few schools, and only here and there a place of religious worship. Down nearly to the Revolution, they sent their sons, for the most part, abroad for education. Even New York had not a college, and few grammar schools: New York, the daughter of republican Holland, of the lineage of De Ruyter and Van Tromp, of Grotius and Erasmus, of Rubens, Rembrandt, and Vandyck; New York, a notable housekeeper, a princely benefactress of the Church and the poor, a model of the severer virtues, and rich in lordly patents; now, of a long time, wedded to New England, and peopling her own broad domain, and the farthest west, with the mingled excellences of both.

It is easy to see, therefore, how the philosophy of the Pilgrims, their village population, their institutions of learning, their religious worship, their domestic instruction, and the Press, there first introduced, taken in connection with the Providential fact, that nearly all the leading men, who came over in the first ship, survived the maladies and privations of the first year, and lived to extreme old age, sensible and venerable memorials of the spirit of the primitive settlement—it is plain how all these things conspired to perpetuate a distinct and strongly marked character of intelligence and piety in this part of the country.

The principles which thus fostered knowledge and religion, and brought out the natural fruits of both in the history of New England, had an effect no less remarkable on the *spirit of civil and ecclesiastical government*. These same principles naturally fixed the limits of both: they are, in truth, the very elements of Democracy, in Church and state. Every Puritan is a king; his theory of life is free; his spirit is unbound. The institutions and administration of the Pilgrims came nearer to realizing this theory, in practice, than

men had ever come before. Intolerance and narrowness do, indeed, deform their character. But these grievous faults of theirs, like the spots on the face of the sun, are rendered visible only by their own light. Their great guide and pioneer knew not everything. He burned Servetus, for aught I know. And what if he had burned the Alps and the Lake of Geneva? It would still be true that, with all his high notions of the Sovereignty and Decrees of God, his soul was liberal and large; he was a real Democrat; one of the freest of the free, and a teacher of freedom. I come not here, gentlemen, to scan, with microscopic jealousy, the frailties of such men. Our Fathers were not faultless: they never arrogated perfection to themselves. But they saw in part; and, as far as was given them to see, they carried out, in their civil and ecclesiastical administration, the great maxim, so simple and so beautiful, because so consonant to the analogies of Providence, that *the least possible government is the best*—in other words, that the true theory of society is to rely, mainly, on the natural excitements to action, the instincts, the passions, the reason, and the conscience: and to regulate these, by legal enactments, only so far as, by this very regulation itself, to secure, to each and all, the utmost practicable liberty. And I have no patience with the spirit, which, from this vantage ground of retrospection, looks back to the Pilgrim age only to think of the witches and the Quakers. Let us rather, like filial brothers, be seen walking reverently backward, to cover the shame of the Patriarchs, the fathers, in the Providence of God, of a new race in a new world.

Other and more particular illustrations of these primary elements of the Pilgrim character, in the features and spirit of our New England Society, present themselves; but I may only allude to a few of them.

Habitual thoughtfulness, the conscious possession of personal attributes of power and responsibility, make excellent *pioneers* of civilization—happy dwellers in the woods, cheerful borderers; because they open resources in a man's own arm, in his own bosom and in his own home. Many a New England mother has charmed the livelong day, in the depths of the forest, with as joyous music as ever flowed from hearts made gay by the brilliant festivities of the city. Many a New England father, after a day of solitary toil in subduing the reluctant wilderness, has "welcomed cheerful evening in" with a sweet sentiment of home and a glad spirit.

The same traits of mind are apt to write, in strong lines, upon the face, a character of *seriousness, reserve, caution,* and, it may be, *ungracious independence;* for they lead us to attach importance chiefly to the essential man. They beget a love of simplicity and sincerity, a carelessness of appearances, an indifference to forms; and communicate, sometimes, an air of freedom, perhaps of rudeness, where there may be no want of genuine good sense and good feeling.

To these same causes may be traced our *love of home.* To superficial observers, the more intelligent even, as Marryat and Chevalier, the spirit of enterprise, so prevalent among us, seems inconsistent with strong domestic attachments. That young men and young women should be true lovers of home, and yet fly from it, in their teens, to the ends of the land, and the solitudes of the desert, seems a paradox, and yet how true! You know, gentlemen, how the spirit of enterprise, which follows the bright promises of ambition, or wealth, or charity, to the world's end, consists with, O yes, invigorates your fond attachment to your father's house. I need not tell you how all your tenderest sensibilities cling around the spot of your birth, with more and more

tenacity, the farther, in place or time, you are removed from it; how the heart yearns to hold in your own name, and to transmit, in your own line, the old homestead, with its spreading elm, its noisy rivulet and its brown hills, the scene of your early industry, and the final resting place of your early friends. The heart wants visible memorials to fasten upon. It requires a centre to revolve about. And we may be assured, that, just in proportion as our early habits have been formed by intelligence, by religious principle, by domestic order, by the interchange of delicate sentiments and kind feelings around a common fireside, and at a common altar, shall we be bound by inextinguishable ties, to our native spot. The happy daughter of the East, grown old amid the bloom and exuberance of the Great Valley, still sighs for the sterility of New England. How often the son of our barren hills, when the enterprises of ambition are concluded, and the energies of life are exhausted, returns, at last, to repose his dying heart, where the heart of his father ceased to beat, and to lay his cold remains close by her to whose side he clung in infancy, and in whose bosom he was nourished and sheltered.

To these causes may we not ascribe, also, *the generosity and hospitality* of New England? Yes, the hospitality and the generosity of the money-making, money-saving Yankees. There is pecuniary littleness, there is social meanness, there is lean and hungry avarice in New England—one of the few settlements made on these shores, unprompted by ambition for wealth. But what supplies the sources of generosity? Is it not economy? Is it not providence, calculation, improvement? And what, if the habit of accumulation becomes, sometimes, a passion, a vice even? It only proves the existence of the virtue, of which it is but the excess

and abuse. I grant you, we are not a people prodigal of other men's bitter earnings. We are not profuse, to wastefulness and self-exhaustion, of wealth acquired by wrong and outrage upon nature and humanity. We earn our daily bread by the sweat of the brow. Within doors and without, in the country and in the town, all things, with us, are full of labor. No man is above it. No man is ashamed of it.

The fruits of this ever active industry, and this ever-watchful frugality which goes hand in hand with it, are not accumulation merely, with parsimony and sordid avarice by its side. These fruits are still more conspicuous in a charity as liberal, a hospitality as heartfelt, as any society of men can boast of. Is there anywhere ampler, or more tasteful provision for the public convenience? Are private dwellings, from the whited farm house to the marble mansion of the town, anywhere more beautiful? Are nobler structures, anywhere, dedicated to education or religion? Is the poor man better fed, are his children better educated elsewhere? What wealth has reared those asylums for the blind and the insane? Whose earnings have sprinkled over the land refuges for the orphan, the superannuated seaman, the friendless sick? Who endowed our frequent universities, enriched with the learning of ages and with the instruments of all science? What feeds the thousand streams which flow out from New England, to make the world glad, and which, like her living streams of emigration, leave abundance still behind? Are the nation's guests received with greater munificence, or welcomed more heartily, in any part of the land? Are sweeter charities opened to the private friend, or more grateful courtesies bestowed upon the stranger, in any country? We do, indeed, know how blessed it is to *receive;* but we know, also, how much *more* blessed it is to *give.*

Of the influence of the scenery and soil of New England, in giving energy to the original principles of her character, I have not time to speak. I may not trespass farther on your patience, than simply to say, that Nature and Religion never co-operated better to produce an *independent* and a *believing spirit*—a *self-reliance*, which hardly betrays consciousness of independence; and a *dependence*, which could not be increased, if we had, ourselves, no part to act. Freedom is the very genius of our hills; and the hills are God's unhewn altars.

Gentlemen, I have no more to say for the land of the Pilgrims; happy, most happy, if I have been able, in any degree to revive in you a grateful and a proud remembrance of the pleasant place of your birth—the sunny hill-sides and smiling villages of New England —the homes you have left, but have not ceased to love —the scenes of your baptism, and the sepulchres of your fathers.

THE ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL GREATNESS

GEORGE B. CHEEVER

1842

GEORGE B. CHEEVER

(1807-1876.)

The orator of the celebration at the Tabernacle in 1842 was the Rev. George B. Cheever, a native of Maine and a graduate of Bowdoin. As a young man in his first pastorate at Salem, Massachusetts, he sprang suddenly into notice through his remarkable brochures, "Amos Giles's Distillery" and "Deacon Jones's Brewery." These startling attacks on the liquor traffic were fiercely resented, not alone by those engaged in the business, but by the majority in the community, and such was then the state of public opinion that the young man was sentenced to thirty days in the Salem jail. Soon after this affair Mr. Cheever was called to New York, where, in the pastorates, first of the Allen Street Church, then of the Church of the Puritans, he spent forty powerful years. Among his published works should be mentioned an edition of "Pilgrim's Progress" and "The Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth."

ADDRESS

SIR WILLIAM JONES, among the multiplicity of his compositions, has left an ode commencing with the following question: *What constitutes a State?* This question comprehends my subject. I propose to dwell upon the Elements of National Greatness. We are certainly entered on a new cycle in the affairs of men; for a nation might, in times past, have become great by means which now are altogether inadequate. The city which Cain built, though it bore the stamp of the first murderer, became, before the deluge, a mighty city, and the heart of a great Empire. But no kingdom in the antediluvian world was truly great. What constitutes a State? Let the poet and legislator first answer.

"Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No: men, high-minded men,
Men, who their duties know
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain.
These constitute a State,
And Sovereign Law that State's collected will."

Men constitute a State, and the character of the State depends upon the character of the men. One of the

most impartial foreign judges of our own country is reported to have given, as the result of his study and observation, that the American institutions are good, but the people not good enough to support them. We pray God that this may not prove to be true. But let us run over some of the Elements necessary to National Greatness, and see what among them we possess, and of what we are destitute.

1. In the first place, A GOOD PARENTAGE is requisite. Hereditary qualities may be traced in nations as in individuals. The forty years' history of the Hebrews in the wilderness teaches a lesson of importance. It was necessary that that generation should all die, that they should turn, return, and toil upon their pilgrimage, till the whole race of hereditary bondmen had become extinct; and even then the taint of idolatry and slavery remained in them. Now we may justly love to speak of our parentage as a people. And we may take courage in dwelling upon the love of God in rocking the cradle of our ancestry by storms and discipline, instead of the syren lullaby of a sensual court and a gorgeous hierarchy. If a man is ever to be one of God's great instruments of good to his race, the preparation must be made in laying the foundations of his character. It is too late to seek to form new men for the occasion when the crisis has come, and the habits are already no more than those of ordinary manhood. A man's discipline must commence and go forward with the other causes, which God is making to operate for the world's changes, or it cannot be produced in a night. No man can go to sleep a common man, to awake, on the morning of a political or ecclesiastical revolution, a hero or a deep Christian. Napoleon's character was forming with the silent progress of the causes which prepared the French

revolution. And Luther's character, by as much greater than Napoleon's as his cause was nobler and holier, was cut as with the point of a diamond, and wrought into its unchanging, steadfast, reliable qualities, in lonely spiritual discipline, in the cloisters at Erfurth. What is true of men is true of nations. The "yoke" must be "borne in the youth," if we would have qualities that shall awe the world in manhood.

The discipline of our ancestors in laying the foundations of many generations in this country, was what we might suppose it would be, if God intended that in the coming era of glory in the world we should be found among the number of his favoured nations, when, in a national sense, God shall "make up his jewels." If ever a free people wrought out an inheritance of liberty through trials, it was our Pilgrim ancestors. They went out from one fire into another fire that seemed ready to devour them. What the wolves of despotism and church tyranny had left undone in one hemisphere, the wolves and savages of the woods in another seemed ready to finish. By trials they were prepared for trials. They were the best part of the population of Europe; but it was necessary that in Europe itself they should put off their European taint, and receive those germinating principles, which would be transplanted with them, to rise in a fresh soil above that great growth of underweeds, which otherwise in Europe would have overpowered them.

They were a race that grew out of the noblest principles of the Reformation. Until the Reformation had begun to purify the world, there was no such race in existence; God and man might have looked about in vain for the materials of a virtuous colonization of this country. We cannot help remarking how wonderful was that Divine Providence, which turned aside the

ships of Columbus from the Northern Coasts of this great Continent; which kept the forests and the rocks of New England hidden from the world at a time when nothing but the *auri sacra fames*, the accursed thirst of gold, occupied men's souls; at a time when there was neither religion nor patriotism to colonize a new country, but avarice, bigotry, and despotism to oppress it: hidden until a race of men should be ready for His purposes. "Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American Continent," says the accomplished native historian of our own country,[1] "the old English institutions would have been planted under the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic religion; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before the activity of the popular mind in religion had conducted to a corresponding activity of mind in politics. The Pilgrims were English Protestants; they were exiles for religion; they were men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunity of external observation, equal in rank as in rights, and bound by no code but that of religion or the public will." I should add to this, that the public will would no more have bound our Puritan ancestors than private despotism, had they felt it to be opposed to the dictates of religion. And I must reiterate, what we ought never to forget, when the character of the Puritans is in question, that remarkable eulogium bestowed upon them by Hume,—that amidst the absolute authority of the Crown, "the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved BY THE PURITANS ALONE; and it is to this sect that the English owe THE WHOLE FREEDOM OF THEIR CONSTITUTION." I wonder at this historian, and with my whole heart I thank him, that with all his partialities and prejudices, he should have penned

[1] Mr. Bancroft.

concerning the Puritans a paragraph of such high, bold, undaunted truth.

As natives of New England, we are proud of the claims of a Puritan and a Protestant ancestry. These two appellatives have comprehended about as much virtue, nobleness, freedom, and piety, as the world is ever likely to witness in combination. And as to the sterner virtues of our Puritan ancestors, which it has become fashionable in some quarters to depreciate,—I do not wonder that a sensual world and a self-indulgent spirit carp at them. "Indeed," said the great Edmund Burke, on a great occasion, "the whole class of the severe and restrictive virtues are at a market almost too high for humanity." Nevertheless, it is by the spirit of those virtues alone, that our institutions can be preserved, or that we, as a people, can be made, what we hope we yet may be, the salt of freedom and religion to the world. Our Puritan ancestors were disciplined by self-denial; this comprehends the whole foundation of their character; for self-denial is, and to fallen beings ever must be, the ground of all virtue. The inheritance which, in the exercise of "the severe and restrictive virtues," they procured for us by suffering, can be preserved by us, or imparted to the world, only through a participation in the same discipline. Luxury on our part, and sarcasms on our fathers' virtues, will never do it.

2. One of the qualities which distinguished our Puritan ancestors was A HIGH REGARD FOR THE WORD OF GOD and high views of its inspiration. This is one of the qualities by which, as the world approaches its state of glory, nations must be distinguished as well as men. This quality must be a national element, above all sectarianism, entering into all developments of national

life, in whatever organizations, but especially in Common Schools. Our common schools are to the nation what the lungs are to the body; and any foul or bitter elements that enter into them will be followed by disease and paleness in our national existence. A pure atmosphere of divine truth is as necessary to the health and life of these national vitalities, as a due quantity of oxygen to the physical play of the lungs. Suffer your schools to be turned from their noble purposes for party ends, or to be defrauded of the Word of God, and you put the seeds of consumption in the vital organs of your country; sooner or later the fruits will make their appearance;—the hectic fever, the wild pulse, the breaking up of the system, must follow.

3. In addition to this, I may next remark, that the grand principle of Protestantism, which is PRIVATE JUDGMENT OF THE SCRIPTURES, must characterize a nation, as well as high views of their divine authority. This is one of the elements of freedom of thought. Bind a man in his religion, and you have bound him essentially, and may do with him what you please. The Romanists know this. Chain a man's religious opinions to any court, church, council, or canonized father, to any thing but the Bible, and your fetters are upon his liberty, your iron has entered into his soul.

From spiritual despotism to civil and political the path is short, easy, inevitable. Hence, we cannot but view with the most jealous distrust the progress of that anti-Protestant tendency which has been stealing upon us from a monarchy and a Church-Establishment. We should look upon this matter in the spirit of no sect, but in the light of an interest dear to us all as the common light of day, whether we be Christians or infidels. This interest is that of every man of this Republic,

who is not ready to give up the grand principle of republicanism, the right of private judgment and action in regard to the men, principles, and measures of the administration of his country's government. Dearly as I might love my church, were I indissolubly bound to any form of church government, I would rather it were in the bottom of the salt sea sunk, than made a machinery of manacles and fetters for the souls of men. I am sure that this growing scorn of the Reformation, and this depreciation of the grand principle of private judgment in matters of religion, springs not from a new form of piety, but from the ever vital spirit of despotism in the old world. And if anywhere I could trace the proofs of that foreign conspiracy, which has been asserted, against the liberties of this country, and against all mankind through our subjection, I could find it here.

Private judgment in matters of faith, private judgment in matters of liberty,—these are two kindred rights and possessions. The destruction of them both constitutes a perfect despotism. Take away either, and you endanger the other; but the bridge is more easily thrown up from the destruction of the first to that of the second, and then your spiritual despotism may march her troops across into your civil territory almost without notice, because it takes us on our noble side. We are not apt to suspect our religion of endangering our liberties; and hence this union of spiritual and civil despotism may be going on, may have been consummated, and a people yet be scarcely aware *that* it is done, or *how* it is done. This noble Protestant principle therefore is to be sacredly preserved and guarded as an element of national greatness. No where in the world is there a more complete subjection of the national mind, a thicker covering of the fire of liberty with

frosty ashes, than where this principle is disregarded or repudiated.

I have seen this. Travelling across the Tyrol Alps, where the forms of Hofer and his noble band might seem to be at every step around the traveller, where the spirit of freedom seems a quality in the bracing air, and the very mountains are uttering to the storms the chant of man's liberty and immortality, even there, as I enter the city of Innspruck, cradled as it is in among mountains, that with every glance upward flash defiance to the tyrant, I see the open mouths of brazen cannon planted across the public square, and I, a citizen of the United States, am defended at the point of the bayonet from stepping beyond the line of their enclosure, even in a time of profound peace! Why was this? I know of but one solution, one meaning in the vigilance of tyranny. That public square, lynx-eyed despotism had fixed upon as the place, in the heart of that city, whither its patriots would rush to the rescue, if at any time the spirit of liberty should grow too strong for its restraints. It was in an Austrian region that I had to conceal my Italian Bibles, which I wished to carry as a present from a friend to a friend in Italy, lest I might get into difficulty from being found with such an instrument of religious and civil freedom upon my person. All tyrants know, with the instinct of despotism, that if Faith instead of superstition gets possession of the people, there is an end to their power of bondage. The principle of private judgment would overturn the gorgeous structure of civil and religious tyranny from its foundation. Men have bound the world in a civil and religious frost like iron;—well may they be afraid of Faith; it is a spring thaw, that loosens the avalanche.

The State alone has impressed despotism enough upon men, but the State alone has usually left the reli-

gious being of mankind free. The State in union with the Church developes another form of despotism, and carries tyranny into the spiritual world, and thence back again with additional strength into the political world. The union of Church and State not only supplies religious fanaticism with political power, but it arms political tyranny with the sanctions of the unseen world.

A sect united with the State is sure to persecute: the *power* of persecution must be taken away, and kept away forever. It is not that the Romanist, the Congregationalist, the Socinian, or the Prelatist, has not the perfect right to choose his own religion, and to worship in it with a freedom like the air that he breathes; but it is that he has *not* the right to enforce his religion upon me, or to make the unhallowed and arrogant assumption, that his Church alone is *the* Church of Christ on earth, and that all others are to be consigned over to God's "uncovenanted mercies," especially when this enforcement is grounded on the possession of certain arbitrary forms, instead of the truth as it is in Jesus. Do you wish to see the tendency of such assumptions? I will read to you a passage from a British Review of high authority, a passage worthy of the palmiest state of Popery in the noon of the world's night: "All the members of a State ought to belong to one established Church; and wherever the contrary is the case, it proves a source of weakness to that State, which then ceases to live by its internal vitality, and must seek its support from without. Where, however, the number of Dissenters is small, and the State powerful, the danger is less imminent. Strictly speaking, religious sects can only be *tolerated* in a State, and the rank they hold in it can be only one degree higher than that held by Jews"! These are detestable sentiments; I only say, God forbid they should ever get root in this country,

which they would do, should the spirit of Romanism prevail. The very word *toleration* is a disgrace to the English language; it is a reproach to the tongue of any free people to utter it in reference to religion, for it comprehends the whole essence of despotism. Religious toleration! Nor is the word *dissent* in our country, a whit better, justly exposing any sect that shall undertake to fling it out to others, to the ridicule and reproach of Christendom.

4. Intimately connected with this principle of private judgment of the Scriptures, and freedom in religious opinion, is another truth, which, in its combination with the being of nations, passes into a quality and a characteristic; and must henceforth be an indispensable element of national greatness, the great truth of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH. Here, again, I speak the language of no sect, but of that universal wisdom which is above all sects, and by which all sects, that do not mean to die, must live. And I fearlessly affirm that this principle is as essential to the true greatness of a nation, as it is to the salvation of an individual soul. I affirm that it is, if only on the ground that this principle is at once the principle of true spiritual freedom, and the source of a pure morality; a morality that takes a man's being, and a country's being out of self into disinterestedness; a morality not of mint, anise, and cummin, but of noble deeds springing from noble hearts; the spontaneous offering of forgiven children to a forgiving parent; not to buy forgiveness, but as its fruit; not *to be* forgiven, but *because* forgiven. As to the essence of freedom, Mr. Burke once said, with singular energy as well as truth, "he that fears God, fears nothing else;" but the fear of God, which takes away every other fear, comes only out of Faith; and perfect

freedom is possible on no other conditions but those which make God our Father and us His children. We cannot believe that that principle, which binds together the whole family in earth and heaven, which shall be the constituting element of principalities and powers that are to endure when creation shall have passed away, can be of no importance in our national existence upon earth. In truth, we are but as the grub, the low chrysalis, in our present state, in comparison with that transfiguration, which is to take place through the pervading power of this principle in our social, political, and literary existence. This is that cup of immortality, which, whatsoever nation drinks it, shall pass into a permanence of glory, no more to be eclipsed, shadowed, or dissolved, till the final conflagration.

This principle was Luther's *Articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ.* It is just as much so in politics and literature as in religion. We have had on this earth a long trial without it, without the preserving elements of a national existence. This world has been the theatre of a mighty experiment; whether nations could be prosperous and permanent in pride and sin. The result has been overwhelming. Empire after empire has fallen to the ground. I have passed over the ruins of dead and buried kingdoms, have seen the shades of departed monarchies, and conversed with them, haunting the spots of their former glory; and the hollow voice, as if the wind were moaning from earth's central sepulchres, has spoken in the words of Scripture, deep unto deep, in my hearing, THE NATION AND KINGDOM THAT WILL NOT SERVE THEE SHALL PERISH; YEA, THOSE NATIONS SHALL BE UTTERLY WASTED. It is a solemn thing to stand in the Colosseum at Rome, beneath the shadow of the Parthenon at Athens, within the crumbling shrine of the temple of Karnak in Egypt, and to

listen to the echo of those awful words. These historical materials and monuments, are so many intelligent chords, which men's iniquities have wrought for that great Harp of the Past, across which God's Spirit sweeps with its majestic, awful utterance! God grant that the history of our nation may not add another tone of wailing to the melancholy voices of dead empires.

The principle of Faith is yet to make a new Literature for nations and the world. The materials are among us, but the eye of genius has been heavy with slumber. The film and frost of custom conceal a thousand open truths. Almost the whole secret of discovery in science is *the perception and questioning of what is customary in a new light.* There are now floating in our atmosphere of knowledge many common facts and observations, with connexions hidden by the veil of custom, and concealed like the future itself, but which are only waiting for a single question from some awakened mind, in some blessed mood of genius, in which this frosty veil is lifted, a single question like that addressed by Newton to the fall of an apple, which may well nigh open another universe of wonders. Now I apply this to the literature which is yet to be created out of the materials of Divine Truth and the workings of our spiritual being. And I am reminded of Mr. Coleridge's beautiful definition of genius: "To carry the feelings of childhood into the powers of manhood, to combine the child's sense of wonder and novelty with appearances, which every day for, perhaps, forty years has rendered familiar,—

> 'With sun and moon and stars throughout the year,
> And man and woman,—'

this is the character and privilege of genius, and one of the marks, which distinguish genius from talents."

If we apply this to religious things, we cannot but see that a state of mind is requisite in every man analogous to the experience of genius with common truth in its freshness, in regard to the perception of divine truth; and that this spiritual sense of the power and beauty of divine truth is essential to the perfection of a nation's literature. There is therefore a cause of illimitable power in the awakening and discipline of the mind of nations, as yet very little developed, but which is becoming every day more powerful. It is individual regeneration by the Spirit of God, which is to the perception, relish, and influence of divine truth what genius is to the wonderful influence of nature. This is yet to do more in disciplining the mind of nations, and in creating and energizing the world's literature, than all other causes. The operation of this cause is absolutely essential to the perfection of literature. All the forms of literature hitherto known have been deformed and lifeless, in comparison with the beauty and glory of those it shall assume beneath the baptism of the Spirit of God, when its material becomes divine truth, or earthly truth transfigured with celestial glory.

It is not to be supposed for a moment that the presence or the absence of a religious atmosphere of thought and feeling would not create an entire difference in the productions of human genius. You might as well suppose that the vegetation at the bottom of the sea can be no way different from that, which, beneath the bright sun, or the dewy stars, invests the earth's surface with its fragrant, flowering verdure. As great a difference will there be between the literature of a world embalmed with the Spirit of Him who died to redeem it, and that which is the growth of ages that have gloomily rolled on in the rejection of that Spirit, as between the sweet bloom of creation in the open light of heaven, and the

rough, dark recesses of submarine forests of sponges and corals. Such as is indicated in this last image has much of the world's literature proved hitherto; and in it sea-monsters have whelped and stabled.

Now are we to behold a literature so full of all qualities of loveliness and purity, such new regions of high thought and feeling before unimagined opened up in it to the mind, that to the dwellers in past days it should have seemed rather the production of angels than of men. Nor is this an imaginary view. The world and its literature, in its life without the Spirit of God, might powerfully remind the thoughtful observer of Plato's cave, and of the thoughts of its darkened inhabitants; and when, from a higher elevation, the spirit gets a glimpse of reality, then, looking over the works and businesses of this great ant-hill of humanity, our globe, we seem to see bands of chained men, even as Plato describes them, counting the shadows of subterranean fires, and making idols of popularity, out of the subtle intellects that most clearly distinguish and describe those shadows. These things must have an end; and when men learn, beautifully and truly remarks one of our great native poets,[1] the outward by the inward to discern, the inward by the Spirit, they shall win

> "Their way deep down into the soul. The light
> Shed in by God shall open to the sight
> Vast powers of being; regions long untrod
> Shall stretch before them filled with life and God."

All things shall breathe an air from upper climes. Then men listening, with the inward ear,—

> "The ocean of eternity shall hear
> Along its coming waves; and thou shalt see
> Its spiritual waters as they roll through thee."

[1] Mr. Dana.

5. The next possession and element of National Greatness, which I must notice, is THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH. We possess this blessing through the goodness of God, in a greater purity perhaps than any other people. The permanence of our institutions, the perpetuity of our freedom, depends greatly upon the carefulness with which we guard and preserve it. Here I am compelled to say, that there is a great insensibility to the preciousness and the preserving power of this blessing. A thousand times better the austere strictness, with which our Puritan ancestors observed the holiness of this institution, than the looseness which too often characterizes their descendants in regard to it. In general, a nation's prosperity has been and is proportioned to the sacredness with which it keeps the Sabbath. The reasons are as simple and plain as the daylight. Wherever the Sabbath is kept, it makes holy and well educated families. It infuses into the poor and ignorant a sense of the blessings of cleanliness, knowledge, and virtue, and an ambition to possess them. It links the weeks of households, villages, cities, communities, with a golden chain of order and of love running through them. It is the education of a nation, where, one-seventh portion of our time, we are all at school together. It promotes industry, and yet checks it from over-tasking the tired frame of the labourer or the working mind of the student, by the obligation of a heavenly leisure intervening. By recalling the busiest worshippers of Mammon from the vortex, and the din, and the strife of our external world of selfishness and avarice, to the quiet fireside, as well as the solemnity of the Sanctuary, it increases our sense of the blessedness of home, makes homely blessings more precious, quickens the pulses of affectionate hearts in the ties of the family constitution, and prevents the utter weaning of the heart from home,

in men who would otherwise live in the world and be of the world entirely.[1]

But this is not all:—our Sabbath is a day of sacred rest, but not of indolence; it is a day of intellectual and spiritual awakening; a day in which a great, onward, lofty impulse is given simultaneously to the minds of a whole people, in the bringing of themes before them, which are a study for the intellect of angels. So that the Sabbath, as God has instituted it, does more to enlarge and invigorate a nation's mind, than all other causes. It is like a periodic inundation of the Nile, after which the week itself is sown and harvested with virtues and blessings. This, most certainly, is the grand reason for the intellectual superiority of Protestant over Catholic countries, where the Sabbath is merely a waste and dissipation of the national mind, and concurs, with other causes, with the multiplicity of

[1] The notice given by Wilberforce, of the suicide of Lord Castlereagh, as proceeding from the overtasking of his faculties on the Sabbath as on the week day, is strikingly in point:

"He was certainly deranged—the effect probably of continued wear and tear of mind. But the strong impression of my mind is, that it is the effect of the non-observance of the Sunday, both as abstracting from politics, from the constant recurrence of the same reflections, and as correcting the false views of worldly things, and bringing them down to their true diminutiveness. Poor Castlereagh! I never was so shocked by any incident. He really was the last man in the world who appeared likely to be carried away into the commission of such an act! So cool, so self-possessed. It is very curious to hear the newspapers speaking of incessant application to business, forgetting that by the weekly admission of a day of rest, which our Maker has graciously enjoined, our faculties would be preserved from the effects of this constant strain. I am strongly impressed by the recollection of your endeavour to prevail on the lawyers to give up Sunday consultations, in which poor Romilly would not concur. If he had suffered his mind to enjoy such occasional remissions, it is highly probable the strings would never have snapped as they did, from over-tension. Alas! alas! poor fellow! I did not think I should feel for him so very deeply."—*Life of Wilberforce, Vol. 5, page* 134.

other Feast Days, to sap the energies and morals of the people. In proportion as we neglect the Sabbath, we open the door to the same evils which every where meet the traveller in Romish countries.

This institution then is the constituted safeguard, in Divine Providence, of all our blessings. No nation can carelessly permit the habits of neglect and profanation of its sacredness to creep upon her cities, and not be deeply injured. Those Sabbath nuisances, that from time to time spring up through the profligacy of individuals, ought to be destroyed as soon as attempted. I have witnessed much profaning of the Sabbath, and in many forms; in countries where such profanation was esteemed a virtue, and where, though allowed, it was esteemed a sin; but, all things considered, I have never seen a more disgraceful form of such profanation, than here in this city, under the very eye of the authorities, prevails in the daily Sabbath sale of polluted and polluting public journals.

6. Connected with the Christian Sabbath, another element not merely of national greatness, but, considering the peculiar nature of our institutions, of national existence, is that of A CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. Education alone will not save us. Much has been said, and justly, on the necessity of general intelligence as the ground-work of republican institutions; and alarming facts are arrayed as to the increasing ignorance of the people of the United States. But intelligence alone is not the qualification which the peculiar nature of our institutions renders necessary. Goodness, moral goodness, is requisite, integrity of character, sincere patriotism. That this is that part of a Christian education, which is needed more than knowledge, I hesitate not to affirm. Without it, the universal diffusion of know-

ledge will but prepare this country to become a mere gladiatorial arena of contending parties, where pride, selfishness, passion in every shape, may have room to battle for the victory. Now, it is not Common Schools alone that can make a Christian education; if they be separated from the Gospel, or the Gospel separated from them, it is plain that they do but train the evil in men's hearts for a more skilful, desperate, unprincipled conflict for victory, and what are called the spoils of victory.

There are two things needed in the common education of this country more than in that of any other country on earth; *a religious morality*, and that great and noble quality, which, in spite of the priceless excellence of our institutions, and their claims upon our affections, we are in danger of losing, A LOFTY PATRIOTISM. The education demanded is one of self-discipline, self-government, and the merging of private ends in the common welfare. It is already proved that in no country in the world are there so many temptations to private selfishness as in this; temptations to convert our country's sacred service into a mean and miserable scramble for office. In other countries the frowning buttresses of despotism will stand, though private selfishness prevails and rages; but our institutions are so open and etherial, and yet so complicated, and so delicate in their adjustment, they suppose so much sterling principle, such forgetfulness of self, such regard to truth and righteousness, that without these qualities they are nothing; they cannot last, they are not fit for the government of a people destitute of self-discipline. Our government is indeed the government not so much of the people, as of themselves by the people; and it would be a new thing indeed in the world, if a mass of men, by the mere circumstance of being massed to-

gether, should develope qualities, which they do not possess personally and singly. Our government is an attempt to disprove the bitter sarcasm of tyrants, that mankind cannot govern themselves; and in truth mankind have generally been so destitute of moral principle, that they have had to appoint perpetual dictators against the violence of their own passions. Be assured that if men had been fit to govern themselves, they would have done it; despots would have been monsters unknown. Most fearlessly do I assert that men do *not* know how to govern themselves except by the guidance of God's Spirit. This fits men for self-government, but we know of nothing else that will. A common school education which consists in mere intelligence, will never produce this fitness. I repeat it, a CHRISTIAN EDUCATION is supposed, as absolutely necessary, as the ground of permanence and success in our institutions. Let a single generation grow up without it, and though ever so saturated with knowledge, we are lost. If our common schools and other educational interests be penetrated with the influences of the Gospel, we are saved. The Sabbath and the Pulpit constitute a most essential part of the education, as well as the manly discipline, of this country. The Pulpit, the Sabbath, and the Common School, will all have to unite in the incessant application of holy influences, as well as the communication of knowledge, if our country's institutions are to be preserved.

7. Here then we have developed another element of national greatness, which hitherto the world has utterly neglected, but without which, though nations may be great in despotism and misery, and the grandeur which attends them, they cannot be great in liberty and happiness. This element is the presence of THE REGENER-

ating Spirit of God. Without this, we cannot exist in our present form of government, though we may exist, split into despotisms, contending and warring, enacting over again the same scenes that have filled the history of Europe for ages. The lovers of liberty and the friends of their race in Europe have been looking to us with bright and steadfast hope; but they cannot look to us, if they do not look to God. We have indeed a glorious framework, if the Spirit of God imbue it; but how little do they think of that. They have been looking to our institutions, as we have ourselves, for salvation; but already their courage begins to fail, not from any thing disastrous in the institutions, but from what they see in the people. Now our institutions can no more make a free and noble people, than a church liturgy can make a holy church. It is the people that must breathe the life of freedom into their institutions, as it is the heart that must breathe its piety into prayer, or no form can create it, though it were moulded by the hand of God. It may be that God means to demonstrate to the world, by permitting our passions, our selfishness, our atheism, to make the dreadful experiment, how perfectly inefficacious without the Divine Spirit, are the very best institutions, which the cultivated wisdom and piety of ages could discover or frame, to restrain men's wickedness or to make them free and happy. God grant the world may be spared so fearful a demonstration; six thousand years have been filled with such developments; and yet this may be necessary as a last one, and a most significant and solemn lesson it would read. We grasp at shadows, we weary ourselves in vain, we lean upon a broken reed, which will pierce us, if we look any where below God. I have been told that recently the great French statesman and philosopher, M. Guizot, has written to a friend in this

country, imploring him, if possible, to give the anxious friends of liberty in the old world some hope. But Guizot does not dream of God's Spirit; and his friend should tell him, what multitudes in this country have yet to learn, that without the baptism of that Spirit, though instead of the dark clouds that seem to his vision to be gathering, all indications were as bright as the sun, and placid and pure as a day in midsummer, if the whole hope of the world centred in our institutions, it would fail. Chains, says Cowper,

> "Chains are the portion of revolted man,
> Stripes and a dungeon:—"

and he finds them all three, the Christian poet adds, in his own body, in his own being, until he turns to God. This is the truth inculcated in Burke's powerful language,—IT IS WRITTEN IN THE ETERNAL CONSTITUTION OF THINGS, THAT MEN OF INTEMPERATE MINDS CANNOT BE FREE. THEIR PASSIONS FORGE THEIR FETTERS.

There is then no hope for us, but in the outpouring of the Spirit of God; for this it is the duty of every Christian patriot to plead, to be "night and day praying exceedingly."

To corroborate this view let us now glance for a moment at some of the dangers which threaten us, some of the influences, which are working, both secretly and openly, to blast our hopes. Wherever God has been sowing good seed in the world, the enemy has been sowing tares. Into the seed-corn, which God took out of Egypt, the Enemy threw his handful; it was enough; and after forty years winnowing in the wilderness, still it was there. It grew betimes into a strong overpow-

ering crop, so that while the corn was dwarfed and sickly, the tares, as in their native soil, rose up a dark, dense forest. This time it was Idolatry. It was an infusion from the habits of demon worship on the Nile. Three thousand years after this, the seed which God took out of Judea was the best in the world. But the Enemy was there. With stealthy, noiseless tread he passed among the churches, dropping his germs of evil, and with luxuriant growth they filled all nations, their overshadowing foliage shutting out the light, and baleful dews and fruits dropping from the branches. This time it was Popery. It was an infusion of germs from the effete traditions of Judaism. Once more—the seed which God collected to sow in this Continent was the best in the world. For some of it He winnowed three kingdoms; and yet, the Enemy was there. This time it was not Idolatry, it was not Popery, it was SLAVERY. He dropped his seed quietly into the earth, and went his way. Two hundred annual suns have ripened it. It is a question yet to be decided: Will it destroy our institutions? Manifold are the dangers which arise out of it, fearful are the evils which it brings in its train.

There is a rule, according to which every government should be framed, and all national policy determined, as strictly as individual conduct. Our government, more than any other in the world, professes to regard it. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." We are but beginning to feel the evils, which the violation of this rule must work among us, if it be persisted in. Indeed, there is no infraction of this rule, but, sooner or later, will work its revenge. There is no injury to the feelings, but makes its mark upon the universe. The universe is as a sort of electric telegraph, to take up the moans of the helpless, and to write them in letters indestructible even

by the final conflagration. Nor is there a plaint ever falls from injured humanity, but it falls into the ear of God, and waits its appointed time of judgment. Thou, O man, that walkest amidst the ruins of thine own producing, that seest but thine own will before thee, and waterest thy backward path with the tears of those that come lamenting after, thou shalt walk again amidst these scenes of thine own carelessness and self-indulgence; thou shalt, led by the ERYNNYS of thine own mind, the serpent-haired slave-driver of oppressors, retrace the desolate spots of trampled rights and injured feelings, where every step shall be as over a burning marle, but ten thousand times more agonizing, than if thou wert treading amidst the penal fires of fallen angels.

This is a sad subject, and yet there is hope, even in the evils we may suffer. There is a discipline of nations as of individuals; and with nations, as with individuals, there is a precious jewel in adversity. It is a mistake to suppose that uninterrupted national prosperity is the path to national greatness. Here as well as there, nationally as well as individually, the beautiful language of Cowper may be applied:

> "The path of sorrow, and that path alone,
> Leads to the land where sorrow is unknown."

Men must be tried, nations must be tried; and the evil that will not be persuaded out of them must be burned out of them. Especially must this be the case, if God is going to use them remarkably for his purposes. The temper of the weapon must be proved, the latent flaws must be developed and worked off, the evil tendencies, that in a new and untried scene of being would break out and disappoint a noble design of its

execution, must be revealed and extirpated. When the design is on the eve of its accomplishment, there must be no springing of the materials, no breaking of the instruments, no turning of their edges.

Now it may be that God will work this evil of slavery out of us, by the great evils which it causes us to suffer. With nations as with individuals, God may use their own sins as the means of chastising and correcting them, even while he spares them, and means still to use them for his own glory. Here is our hope; and I confess that in some aspects of the subject, it seems to be our only hope.

Permit me once more on this point to refer you to a man, whose pages I can never open without admiration, whose wisdom I can never contemplate without reverence; a man who, though born and educated the most chivalrous and loyal of monarchists, promulgated sentiments that our Republic would do well to build upon;—the illustrious Edmund Burke. "There is a time," he says, "when men will not suffer bad things because their ancestors suffered worse. There is a time, when the hoary head of inveterate abuse will neither draw reverence, nor obtain protection. I do most seriously put it to administration, to consider the wisdom of a timely reform. Early reformations are amicable arrangements with a friend in power; late reformations are terms imposed upon a conquered enemy: early reformations are made in cool blood; late reformations are made under a state of inflammation. In that state of things the people behold in government nothing that is respectable. They see the abuse, and they will see nothing else. They fall into the temper of a furious populace, provoked at the disorder of a house of ill-fame; they never attempt to correct or regulate; they

go to work by the shortest way. They abate the nuisance, they pull down the house."

A second danger which I shall mention arises from the base and unprincipled means and instruments employed in this country by the demon of Party Spirit. Men will soon become debauched and unprincipled themselves, who will resort to unprincipled helpers. The materials of this evil come to us from abroad. The North and the South ought to have united in protecting this country from the shoals of ignorant and vicious emigration that pour in upon us from the old world. The admission of them as native elements is like opening a vein and injecting a virulent poison in the system. The most iron constitution would sink beneath such a process. But to think of these dregs from the putrid sinks of Europe being bought at a price, being ravenously snatched at by the Spirit of Party! It is a most enormous, most insufferable wrong.

I am not willing to be misunderstood, nor am I afraid of it by any candid mind. I do not forget, no patriot ever can, how much we owe to the disinterested friendship of intelligent and virtuous foreigners. We have had a Lafayette to fight side by side with Washington the battles of our native land, in the hour of our peril; and when he came to his adopted country, to see its prosperity, in his old age, we received him with the joy and filial reverence of children towards a long absent parent. No! we love to enumerate all that we owe to the patriotism of foreigners; but we love to remember that they have been patriots, not hirelings. We love the virtuous and intelligent families of foreigners, domesticated and naturalized among us. Some of them are among our own most true and valued per-

sonal friends. We love to consider our Country as the asylum of liberty for the oppressed in all the world; but not an asylum for the wicked, the abandoned, the profligate, the "unwhipt of justice," for those who, in their own country, would only fill the poor-houses and the jails. It is a very different thing to make this country an asylum for the oppressed, and to make it the Botany Bay of all Europe. How often have we heard the sarcasms of foreigners on the riots that have broken out among us! How often, nay, how constantly have the materials of such riots, the materials of our disgrace in the eyes of Europe, been found in the sediment of that torrent of emigration, which they themselves have poured over us!

It seems a melancholy thing that we could not, for a season, have been shut out from all communication with the old world, and left to grow up and knit into manhood with our native materials. It is a most undeniable fact, that in many respects persons are not fitted to take part in our government even as voters, who have not been, for some good period at least, educated among us. There is needed some little practical knowledge of our institutions, some sort of acquaintance with their workings, some insight into the relative action of parties, and some knowledge of the many and complicated currents of influences among us, over which a patriotic and intelligent voter must keep watch, if he would not be the mere tool of others. I have been pleased with a recent conversation on this point with a most enlightened and patriotic foreigner, one who loves his own country and therefore loves ours, and who looks with deep anxiety on the tide of foreign emigration that sets, at the direction of our enemies, into our ballot boxes. Gladly, said he, would I relinquish my privilege as a voter, could I help you to ward

off the evil that I see you suffering from the multitudes of foreign paupers and venal masses of men, that threaten to undermine your institutions.

Another intelligent and excellent foreigner expressed the opinion that twenty-one years' residence in this country ought to be required by law before voting; at least as long as a native citizen is obliged to spend from the birth, before he can enjoy this privilege. In fact, without some such requisition, we degrade ourselves in comparison with all other nations. We put a premium upon the foreigner, and we open our dearest interests to the undermining efforts of all forms of Jesuitism in the world. Little would there be to fear from the efforts of Roman Catholics among us, if a twenty-one years' residence, or the half of it were necessary before foreigners could vote. The temptation to buy votes and to sell them, to bribe and to be bribed, and to drag foreign paupers to the polls as soon as they are landed, would be in great measure taken away. The greatest sources of evil in our elections would be cut off, and the whole play of our affairs would be easier and fairer.

In general, it is a fact that those affinities which lead men to emigrate to this country do not indicate the right sort of character for our institutions. The radicalism of Europe is not what we want. The Radicals of Europe are not fit to be Republicans. Loyalty is a virtue; but those who pour in upon us from Europe are too often loyal to nothing but ignorance and unsettled principles. I would a thousand times rather have a tide of emigration from the strongest tories; for a man who is not loyal to his king in a country like England, will have no patriotism at all in a Republic like ours. If the kingdoms of Europe had conspired for

our destruction, they could not have adopted a more judicious plan, than to roll over us a ground-wave from their own uneducated population. The ignorant, venal, miscreant character of a great portion of it, forms one of our greatest dangers. This is an evil that increases all our native evils, whatever they may be.

Another evil which I must notice is this,—the want of a sense of national responsibility, the want of a national conscience. We are not worse than England in this respect. God forbid!—but this gives us no high character: and it is to be remembered that a degree of wickedness, which in a monarchy and a profligate aristocracy is expected, and hardly noticed, and which is but as another coating of moss over the weather-beaten castles of oppression, may shake our institutions to pieces. "The best governments," said Lord Bacon, in one of his excellent aphorisms, "are always subject to be like the fairest crystals, wherein every icicle or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived." A disregard of rectitude and a violence and cruelty of invasion on our part, like that which has marked the unprincipled career of England in China and Afghanistan, would have turned the whole world against us.

We have the evil of a national conscience warped by conflicting interests among State governments. At the iniquitous suit, and under the rapacious outcry of one of our States, a national treaty with the Indians is no more regarded than a parchment of the dark ages. One or two acts of public fraud upon large masses, allowed or connived at by the government, will go far to compromit its principles; and besides, will set an example to the State governments that cannot fail to be followed. If the government of the United States begin with injustice and oppression, no matter upon what

class, or for what supposed necessity, the government of the States will continue the career in public repudiation, and then private corporations will follow the example in enormous acts of swindling, and private individuals and fraudulent bankrupts and defaulters will complete the game. Corruption thus may spread to the heart's core, while yet every thing external looks fair and flourishing. This monstrous form of public debauchery, the repudiation of State debts, rivals the catalogue of State vices all the world over. The burning indignation and sarcasm of a Juvenal would have found nothing to surpass it in meanness, in cowardice, in falsehood, in iniquity, even among the rotting corruptions of public and private morality in the carcass of the Roman Empire. And what argues, and no wonder that it should, to the mind of observers from abroad, a portentous dereliction of moral principle and public conscience throughout the whole country, is the callousness, the apathy, the cool endurance, with which the proposition of such perfidious, such swindling, such sweeping insolvency has been received. Surely, if we go on in this way, we shall become a by-word to the nations. It will no longer be *Punica fides* that points the moral of the school-boy, and tips the arrow of the public satirist with gall.

Another evil which I shall notice, and a great danger, because it springs partly out of the freedom we enjoy, is to be found in the nature, prevalence, and power of our Newspaper Literature. It is left in great measure to chance, or to the upturnings of political party scum, who shall be its leaders, and what may be its shape; and yet there is nothing that should be guarded with more watchfulness, nothing into which the spirit of a pure morality and high political honour,

and true patriotism, is more needful to be breathed. There is nothing of such mighty power among us, no machinery that will exert a more inevitable influence either to bless or to destroy. The influence of our newspapers upon our higher literature is deplorable; but this would be nothing if the public utterances of our newspapers were utterances of truth. They are becoming a school of Sophists worse than ever were bred in the literature of Greece. As to the Sophists in that country, the opinion of Schlegel that the political purity of the Grecian governments was at last entirely overthrown by them is deeply to be pondered; for the same sophistry may reign here, which there had the merit of creating a spirit of corruption and debasement, which neither party-strife, nor protracted wars, nor foreign bribery, nor bloody revolutions, had been able to produce. No Sophists ever walked beneath the open air of that delicious clime, and taught the people, whose influence was to be compared to that of the daily issues of the newspaper press in this country. Nor can we speak the painfulness of our emotions, when we see these daily schools of thousands of our people under the care of mere hirelings; when we see some of the leading journals of our land in the hands of men utterly destitute of moral principle.

I shall mention but one more danger; it is connected with the prevalence of Romanism. Men have sometimes descanted on the danger of an *imperium in imperio*. Looking at the universal nature of Romanism as developed in the world's history, I confess that I am afraid of it. The Romanists move in close phalanx. There is a power in the Vatican at Rome, which they still acknowledge; they are proud of it; and never yet has one of the assumptions of that MAN OF SIN, who

still "sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God," been laid aside. It is an amusing picture that Bunyan has drawn of the Pope in his cave, as a rheumatic old giant, biting his lips, and mumbling between his teeth to the passing pilgrims, "You will never mend till more of you are burned." There are signs in some quarters of Giant Grim's rheumatism being cured. At all events, he still has an arm long enough to reach across the Atlantic; and if it be true that the Roman Catholic voters in this country will move at his bidding, then, since it is true that the phalanx of such voters is strong enough to sway the balance between parties, there may be some probability in the assertion that ten years will not pass away, before the President of these United States will be nominated in the Vatican. That Romanism is the same in this country as in the old world, is sufficiently manifest from its hostility against the Scriptures. We have witnessed in this very State a monstrous act of sacrilege in an *Auto da fe* of Romanists for the burning of the Word of God, and two hundred Bibles were committed to the flames! I confess that I am afraid of the action of Romanism upon my country's liberties. I am afraid of the influence of whatever is afraid of the Bible. If there be a sect that lives by shutting out the light, in a country like ours, such a system is dangerous. It has been remarked with great point and power, on the occasion of the recent Biblical Conflagration, that the only light, which the system of Romanism would willingly shed from the Bible on the people, is "the light of its holy leaves on fire."

Gentlemen of the New England Society;—I am grateful for the opportunity of addressing you on this occasion. We all recognise and venerate the New Eng-

land privilege of speaking one's mind. *Sentire quid velis, et quod sentias dicere*, to think what you please, and to speak what you think, we hope will ever be an element in the civil, social, and religious atmosphere of that beloved native region of ours, where no slave breathes, and if the genius of New England can prevent it, never shall! Suffer me to close with THE MEMORY OF OUR PILGRIM FATHERS, and with the grateful recognition of the truth, that as they did what never had been done in Europe, founded an Empire in self-denial, suffering, and the most unwavering trust in GOD, so we, more than any other nation in the world, two hundred years after the landing of the Pilgrims, are thrown entirely upon the Spirit of GOD for the success and stability of our institutions. A Despotism may stand by the very misery of its subjects; a free and happy Republic can stand only by the blessing and the help of GOD.

THE AGE OF THE PILGRIMS THE HEROIC PERIOD OF OUR HISTORY

RUFUS CHOATE

THE LANDING AT PLYMOUTH

DANIEL WEBSTER

1843

RUFUS CHOATE

(1799-1859.)

Hon. Rufus Choate, then senator, was the speaker for 1843. His impassioned oration was received with great enthusiasm. One of its sentences, slightly altered, "A church without a bishop and a state without a king," was made the burden of popular songs, and was turned to serious use by two divines of the city. Dr. Wainwright, rector of St. John's Church, in replying at the dinner that evening to the toast "The Clergy of New England," quoted the orator's words. They were for the second time warmly applauded.

"Now, sir," continued the clergyman, turning to the president, Mr. Grinnell, "notwithstanding the strong burst of approbation to the sentiment, were this a proper arena, should even the orator of the day throw down his gauntlet, I would take it up and maintain on the opposite side, that there can be no church without a bishop."

Shortly in the "Commercial Advertiser" appeared a reply by Dr. Potts, a Presbyterian minister. The ensuing argument in the columns of that daily attracted much attention. A satiric jingle in the "Post" thus comments on the affair:

> "A church without a bishop seems
> To Dr. This a thing of dreams.
> While Dr. That, his reverend brother,
> Counts it as good as any other.
> But while each shepherd, waxing bold
> On merits of his several fold,
> Deals out decisive blows and knocks,
> The wolf eats up their several flocks."

The debate closed at length with a formal essay from the Episcopalian and a reply from his opponent, all the papers being later printed in a thin volume, edited by Dr. Wainwright. It

is said that these distinctly unpleasant polemics did not disturb the former cordial relations of the combatants, though the closing lines of Dr. Wainwright's volume, the prayer for charity, quoted from the Prayer Book, come with humorous appropriateness after the hardly gentle words of the preceding pages.

Mr. Webster, though never orator of the day, spoke three times at the annual dinners. At that of 1832 he responded to the following words from the president: "Greece and Rome had their orators, we have ours, whose able defense of the constitution entitles them to the gratitude of their countrymen. Daniel Webster: New England points to him and says, 'Behold my son!'" There is no record of this address, but those of 1843 and 1850 are preserved in his collected works.

The oration by Mr. Choate, at the Tabernacle in the morning, and the presence of the two statesmen as guests at the Astor House in the evening, mark the celebration of 1843 as the greatest in the Society's annals. It was in response to the graceful toast, "Daniel Webster—the gift of New England to his country, his whole country, and nothing but his country," that Mr. Webster rose.

ORATION

WE meet again, the children of the Pilgrims, to remember our fathers. Away from the scenes with which the American portions of their history are associated forever, and in all men's minds,—scenes so unadorned, yet clothed to the moral eye with a charm above the sphere of taste, the uncrumbled rock, the hill from whose side those "delicate springs" are still gushing, the wide, brown, low woods, the sheltered harbor, the little island that welcomed them in their frozen garments from the sea, and witnessed the rest and worship of that Sabbath-day before their landing, —away from all those scenes,—without the limits of the fond old colony that keeps their graves, without the limits of the New England which is their wider burial place and fitter monument,—in the heart of this chief city of the nation into which the feeble land has grown,—we meet again, to repeat their names one by one, to retrace the lines of their character, to recall the lineaments and forms over which the grave has no power, to appreciate their virtues, to recount the course of their life full of heroic deeds, varied by sharpest trials, crowned by transcendent consequences, to assert the directness of our descent from such an ancestry of goodness and greatness, to erect, refresh, and touch our spirits by coming for an hour into their more immediate presence, such as they were in the days of their

human "agony of glory." The two centuries which interpose to hide them from our eye, centuries so brilliant with progress, so crowded by incidents, so fertile in accumulations, dissolve away for the moment as a curtain of clouds, and we are once more by their side. The grand and pathetic series of their story unrolls itself around us, vivid as if with the life of yesterday. All the stages, all the agents, of the process by which they and the extraordinary class they belonged to, were slowly formed from the general mind and character of England; the influence of the age of the Reformation, with which the whole Christian world was astir to its profoundest depths and outermost limits, but which was poured out unbounded and peculiar on them, its children, its impersonation; that various persecution prolonged through two hundred years and twelve reigns, from the time of the preaching of Wickliffe, to the accession of James the First, from which they gathered sadly so many precious fruits,—a large measure of tenderness of conscience, the sense of duty, force of will, trust in God, the love of truth, and the spirit of liberty; the successive development and growth of opinions and traits and determinations and fortunes, by which they were advanced from Protestants to Republicans, from Englishmen to Pilgrims, from Pilgrims to the founders of a free Church, and the fathers of a free people in a new world; the retirement to Holland; the resolution to seek the sphere of their duties and the asylum of their rights beyond the sea; the embarkation at Delft Haven,—that scene of interest unrivalled, on which a pencil of your own has just enabled us to look back with tears, praise, and sympathy, and the fond pride of children; that scene of few and simple incidents, just the setting out of a handful of not then very famous persons on a voyage,—quite the commonest of occur-

rences,—but which dilates as you gaze on it, and speaks to you as with the voices of an immortal song; which becomes idealized into the auspicious going forth of a colony, whose planting has changed the history of the world,—a noble colony of devout Christians, educated and firm men, valiant soldiers, and honorable women; a colony on the commencement of whose heroic enterprise the selectest influences of religion seemed to be descending visibly, and beyond whose perilous path are hung the rainbow and the westward star of empire; the voyage of The Mayflower; the landing; the slow winter's night of disease and famine in which so many, the good, the beautiful, the brave sunk down and died, giving place at last to the spring-dawn of health and plenty; the meeting with the old red race on the hill beyond the brook; the treaty of peace unbroken for half a century; the organization of a republican government in The Mayflower cabin; the planting of these kindred and coeval and auxiliar institutions, without which such a government can no more live than the uprooted tree can put forth leaf or flower; institutions to diffuse pure religion; good learning; austere morality; the practical arts of administration; labor, patience, obedience; "plain living and high thinking;" the securities of conservatism; the germs of progress; the laying deep and sure, far down on the rock of ages, of the foundation stones of the imperial structure, whose dome now swells towards heaven; the timely death at last, one after another, of the first generation of the original Pilgrims, not unvisited as the final hour drew nigh, by visions of the more visible glory of a latter day,—all these high, holy, and beautiful things come thronging fresh on all our memories, beneath the influence of the hour. Such as we heard them from our mothers' lips, such as we read them in the histories

of kings, of religions, and of liberty, they gather themselves about us; familiar, certainly, but of an interest that can never die,—an interest intrinsical in themselves, yet heightened inexpressibly by their relations to that eventful future into which they have expanded, and through whose lights they show.

And yet, with all this procession of events and persons moving before us, and solicited this way and that by the innumerable trains of speculation and of feeling which such a sight inspires, we can think of nothing and of nobody, here and now, but the Pilgrims themselves. I cannot, and do not, wish for a moment to forget, that it is their festival we have come to keep. It is their tabernacles we have come to build. It is not the Reformation, it is not colonization, it is not ourselves, our present or our future, it is not political economy, or political philosophy, of which to-day you would have me say a word. We have a specific and single duty to perform. We would speak of certain valiant, good, and peculiar men, our fathers. We would wipe the dust from a few old, plain, noble urns. We would shun husky disquisitions, irrelevant novelties, and small display; would recall rather and merely the forms and lineaments of the heroic dead,—forms and features which the grave has not changed, over which the grave has no power.

The Pilgrims, then, of the first generation, just as they landed on the rock, are the topic of the hour. And in order to insure some degree of unity, and of definiteness of aim, and of impression, let me still more precisely propound as the subject of our thoughts, the Pilgrims, their age and their acts, as constituting a real and a true heroic period; one heroic period in the history of this Republic.

I regard it as a great thing for a nation to be able,

as it passes through one sign after another of its zodiac pathway, in prosperity, in adversity, and at all times,—to be able to look to an authentic race of founders, and a historical principle of institution, in which it may rationally admire the realized idea of true heroism. Whether it looks back in the morning or evening of its day; whether it looks back as now we do, in the emulous fervor of its youth, or in the full strength of manhood, its breasts full of milk, its bones moistened with marrow; or in dotage and faintness, the silver cord of union loosened, the golden bowl of fame and power broken at the fountain; from the era of Pericles or the era of Plutarch,—it is a great and precious thing to be able to ascend to, and to repose its strenuous or its wearied virtue upon, a heroic age and a heroic race, which it may not falsely call its own. I mean by a heroic age and race, not exclusively or necessarily the earliest national age and race, but one, the course of whose history and the traits of whose character, and the extent and permanence of whose influences, are of a kind and power not merely to be recognized in after time as respectable or useful, but of a kind and a power to kindle and feed the moral imagination, move the capacious heart, and justify the intelligent wonder of the world. I mean by a nation's heroic age, a time distinguished above others, not by chronological relation alone, but by a concurrence of grand and impressive agencies with large results,—by some splendid and remarkable triumph of man over some great enemy, some great evil, some great labor, some great danger,—by uncommon examples of the rarer virtues and qualities, tried by an exigency that occurs only at the beginning of new epochs, the ascension of new dynasties of dominion or liberty, when the great bell of time sounds out another hour. I mean an age when extraordinary

traits are seen, an age performing memorable deeds whereby a whole people, whole generations, are made different and made better. I mean an age and race to which the arts may go back, and find real historical forms and groups, wearing the port and grace, and going on the errand of demi-gods,—an age far off, on whose moral landscape the poet's eye may light, and reproduce a grandeur and beauty stately and eternal, transcending that of ocean in storm or at peace, or of mountains, staying as with a charm the morning star in his steep course, or the twilight of a summer's day, or voice of solemn bird,—an age "doctrinal and exemplary," from whose personages, and from whose actions, the orator may bring away an incident, or a thought, that shall kindle a fire in ten thousand hearts, as on altars to their country's glory; and to which the discouraged teachers of patriotism and morality to corrupted and expiring States, may resort for examples how to live and how to die.

You see, then, that certain peculiar conditions and elements must meet to make a heroic period and a heroic race. You might call, without violence, the men who brought on and went through the war of Independence, or fell on the high places of its fields,—you might call them and their times heroic. But you would not so describe the half-dozen years from the peace to the Constitution, nor the wise men who framed that writing, nor the particular generation that had the sagacity and the tone to adopt it. Yet was this a grander achievement than many a Yorktown, many a Saratoga, many a Eutaw Springs; and this, too, in some just sense was the beginning of a national experience. To justify the application of this epithet, there must be in it somewhat in the general character of a period, and the character and fortunes of its actors, to warm the

imagination, and to touch the heart. There must, therefore, be some of the impressive forms of danger there; there must be the reality of suffering, borne with the dignity of an unvanquished soul; there must be pity and terror in the epic, as in the tragic volume; there must be a great cause, acting on a conspicuous stage, or swelling towards an imperial consummation; some great interest of humanity must be pleading there on fields of battle, or in the desert, or on the sea!

When these constituents, or such as these, concur, there is a heroic time and race. Other things are of small account. It may be an age of rude manners. Prominent men may cook their own suppers, like Achilles, yet how many millions of imaginations, besides Alexander's, have trembled at his anger, shuddered at his revenge, sorrowed with his griefs, kindled with his passion of glory, melted as he turns gently and kindly from the tears of Priam, childless, or bereaved of his dearest and bravest by his unmatched arm; —divine faces, like that of Rose Standish in the picture, may look out, as hers there does, not from the worst possible head-dress; men may have worn steeple-crowned hats, and long, peculiar beards; they may have been austere, formal, intolerant; they may have themselves possessed not one ray of fancy, not one emotion of taste, not one susceptibility to the grace and sublimity that there are in nature and genius; yet may their own lives and deaths have been a whole Iliad in action, grander, sweeter, of more mournful pathos, of more purifying influences, than anything yet sung by old or modern bard, in hall or bower. See, then, if we can find any of the constituents of such a period, in the character, time, and fortunes of the Pilgrims.

"Plantations," says Lord Bacon, "are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works." But he is think-

ing of plantations as they are the king's works, like parks or palaces, or solemn temples, or steadfast pyramids, as they show forth the royal mind, and heighten the royal glory. We are to seek the heroical ingredient in the planter himself, in the ends for which he set forth, the difficulties with which he contended, the triumphs which he won, the teeming harvest, sprung from seed sown with his tears. And we shall find it there.

It would be interesting, if it were possible, which it is not, to pause for a moment first, and survey the old English Puritan character, of which the Pilgrims were a variety. Turn to the class of which they were part, and consider it well for a minute in all its aspects. I see in it an extraordinary mental and moral phenomenon. Many more graceful and more winning forms of the human nature there have been, and are, and shall be. Many men, many races there are, have been, and shall be, of more genial dispositions, more tasteful accomplishment, a quicker eye for the beautiful of art and nature; less disagreeably absorbed, less gloomily careful and troubled about the mighty interests of the spiritual being or of the commonwealth; wearing a more decorated armor in battle; contributing more wit, more song, and heartier potations, to the garland feast of life. But where, in the long series of ages that furnish the matter of history, was there ever one—where *one*—better fitted by the possession of the highest traits of man to do the noblest work of man,—better fitted to consummate and establish the Reformation, save the English constitution at its last gasp from the fate of all other European constitutions, and prepare on the granite and iced mountain-summits of the New World, a still safer rest, for a still better liberty?

I can still less pause to trace the history of these men

as a body, or even to enumerate the succession of influences—the spirit of the Reformation within, two hundred years of civil and spiritual tyranny without—which, between the preaching of Wickliffe and the accession of James I., had elaborated them out of the general mind of England; had attracted to their ranks so much of what was wisest and best of their nation and time; had cut and burned, as it were, into their natures the iron quality of the higher heroism,—and so accomplished them for their great work there and here. The whole story of the cause and the effect is told in one of their own illustrations a little expanded: "Puritanism was planted in the region of storms, and there it grew. Swayed this way, and that, by a whirlwind of blasts all adverse, it sent down its roots below frost, or drought, or the bed of the avalanche; its trunk went up, erect, gnarled, seamed, not riven by the bolt; the evergreen enfolded its branches; its blossom was like to that 'ensanguined flower inscribed with woe.'"

One influence there was, however, I would mark, whose permanent and various agency on the doctrines, the character, and the destinies of Puritanism, is among the most striking things in the whole history of opinion. I mean its contact with the republican reformers of the continent, and particularly with those of Geneva.

In all its stages, certainly down to the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, all the disciples of the Reformation, wherever they lived, were in some sense a single brotherhood, whom diversity of speech, hostility of governments, and remoteness of place, could not wholly keep apart. Local persecutions drew the tie closer. In the reign of Mary, from 1553 to 1558, a thousand learned Englishmen fled from the stake at home, to the happier states of continental Protestantism. Of these, great numbers, I know not how many, came to Geneva.

There they awaited the death of the Queen; and then, sooner or later, but in the time of Elizabeth, went back to England.

I ascribe to that five years in Geneva an influence which has changed the history of the world. I seem to myself to trace to it, as an influence on the English race, a new theology; new politics; another tone of character; the opening of another era of time and of liberty. I seem to myself to trace to it the great civil war of England; the Republican Constitution framed in the cabin of The Mayflower; the divinity of Jonathan Edwards; the battle of Bunker Hill; the Independence of America. In that brief season, English Puritanism was changed fundamentally, and forever. Why should we think this extraordinary? There are times when whole years pass over the head of a man, and work no change of mind at all. There are others again, when, in an hour, old things pass away, and all things become new! A verse of the Bible; a glorious line of some old poet, dead a thousand years before; the new-made grave of a child; a friend killed by a thunder-bolt; some single, more intolerable pang of despised love; some more intolerable act of "the oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely;" a gleam of rarer beauty on a lake, or in the sky; something slighter than the fall of a leaf, or a bird's song on the shore,—transforms him as in the twinkling of an eye. When, before or since, in the history of the world, was the human character subjected to an accumulation of agents, so fitted to create it all anew, as those which encompassed the English exiles at Geneva?

I do not make much account in this, of the material grandeur and beauty which burst on their astonished senses there, as around the solitude of Patmos,—although I cannot say that I know, or that anybody

knows, that these mountain summits, ascending "from their silent sea of pines," higher than the thunder cloud, reposing among their encircling stars, while the storm sweeps by below, before which navies, forests, the cathedral tombs of kings, go down, all on fire with the rising and descending glory of the sun, wearing his rays as a crown, unchanged, unscaled; the contrasted lake; the arrowy Rhone and all his kindred torrents; the embosomed city,—I cannot say that these things have no power to touch and fashion the nature of man. I cannot say that in the leisure of exile, a cultivated and pious mind, opened, softened, tinged with a long sorrow, haunted by a brooding apprehension, perplexed by mysterious providences, waiting for the unravelling of the awful drama in England,—a mind, if such there were, like Luther's, like Milton's, like Zwingle's, might not find itself stayed, and soothed, and carried upward, at some evening hour, by these great symbols of a duration without an end, and a throne above the sky. I cannot say that such an impression might not be deepened by a renewed view, until the outward glory reproduced itself in the inward strength; or until

> "The dilating soul, enwrapt, transfused,
> Into the mighty vision passing there,
> As in her natural form, swelled vast to heaven."

Nobody can say that.

It is of the moral agents of change that I would speak. I pass over the theology which they learned there, to remark on the politics which they learned. The asylum into which they had been admitted, the city which had opened its arms to pious, learned men, banished by the tyranny of an English throne and an English hierarchy, was a republic. In the giant hand of

guardian mountains, on the banks of a lake lovelier than a dream of the Fairy Land, in a valley which might seem hollowed out to enclose the last home of liberty, there smiled an independent, peaceful, law-abiding, well-governed, and prosperous commonwealth. There was a state without king or nobles; there was a church without a bishop; there was a people governed by grave magistrates which it had selected, and equal laws which it had framed. And to the eye of these exiles, bruised and pierced through by the accumulated oppressions of a civil and spiritual tyranny, to whom there came tidings every day from England that another victim had been struck down, on whose still dear home in the sea, every day a gloomier shadow seemed to fall from the frowning heights of power, was not that republic the brightest image in the whole transcendent scene? Do you doubt that they turned from Alpine beauty and Alpine grandeur, to look with a loftier emotion, for the first time in their lives, on the serene, unveiled statue of classical Liberty? Do you not think that this spectacle, in these circumstances, prompted in such minds pregnant doubts, daring hopes, new ideas, thoughts that wake to perish never, doubts, hopes, ideas, thoughts, of which a new age is born? Was it not then and there that the dream of republican liberty—a dream to be realized somewhere, perhaps in England, perhaps in some region of the Western sun—first mingled itself with the general impulses, the garnered hopes of the Reformation? Was that dream ever let go, down to the morning of that day when the Pilgrims met in the cabin of their shattered bark, and there, as she rose full on the stern New England sea, and the voices of the November forest rang through her torn topmast rigging, subscribed the first republican constitution of the New World? I confess myself

of the opinion of those who trace to this spot, and that time, the Republicanism of the Puritans. I do not suppose, of course, that they went back with the formal design to change the government of England. The contests and the progress of seventy years more were required, to mature and realize so vast a conception as that. I do not suppose, either, that learned men,—students of antiquity, the readers of Aristotle and Thucydides and Cicero, the contemporaries of Buchanan, the friends of his friend, John Knox,—needed to go to Geneva to acquire the idea of a commonwealth. But there they saw the problem solved. Popular government was possible. The ancient prudence and the modern, the noble and free genius of the old Paganism and the Christianity of the Reformation, law and liberty, might be harmoniously blended in living systems. This experience they never forgot.

I confess, too, that I love to trace the pedigree of our transatlantic liberty, thus backwards through Switzerland, to its native land of Greece. I think this the true line of succession, down which it has been transmitted. There was a liberty which the Puritans found, kept, and improved in England. They would have changed it, and were not able. But that was a kind which admitted and demanded an inequality of many; a subordination of ranks; a favored eldest son; the ascending orders of a hierarchy; the vast and constant pressure of a superincumbent crown. It was the liberty of feudalism. It was the liberty of a limited monarchy, overhung and shaded by the imposing architecture of great antagonistic elements of the state. Such was not the form of liberty which our fathers brought with them. Allowing, of course, for that anomalous tie which connected them with the English crown three thousand miles off, it was republican freedom, as perfect the mo-

ment they stepped on the rock as it is to-day. It had not been all born in the woods of Germany; by the Elbe or Eyder; or the plains of Runnymede. It was the child of other climes and days. It sprang to life in Greece. It gilded next the early and the middle age of Italy. It then reposed in the hallowed breast of the Alps. It descended at length on the iron-bound coast of New England, and set the stars of glory there. At every stage of its course, at every reappearance, it was guarded by some new security; it was embodied in some new element of order; it was fertile in some larger good; it glowed with a more exceeding beauty. Speed its way; perfect its nature!

> "Take, Freedom! take thy radiant round,
> When dimmed revive, when lost return,
> Till not a shrine through earth be found,
> On which thy glories shall not burn."

Thus were laid the foundations of the mind and character of Puritanism. Thus, slowly, by the breath of the spirit of the age, by the influence of undefiled religion, by freedom of the soul, by much tribulation, by a wider survey of man, nature, and human life, it was trained to its work of securing and improving the liberty of England, and giving to America a better liberty of her own. Its day over, and its duty done, it was resolved into its elements, and disappeared among the common forms of humanity, apart from which it had acted and suffered, above which it had to move, out of which by a long process it had been elaborated. Of this stock were the Pilgrim Fathers. They came of heroical companionship. Were their works heroical?

The planting of a colony in a new world, which may grow, and which does grow, to a great nation, where there was none before, is intrinsically, and in the judg-

ment of the world, of the largest order of human achievement. Of the chief of men are the *conditores imperiorum*. To found a state upon a waste earth, wherein great numbers of human beings may live together, and in successive generations, socially and in peace, knit to one another by the innumerous ties, light as air, stronger than links of iron, which compose the national existence,—wherein they may help each other, and be helped in bearing the various lot of life,—wherein they may enjoy and improve, and impart and heighten enjoyment and improvement,—wherein they may together perform the great social labors, may reclaim and decorate the earth, may disinter the treasures that grow beneath its surface, may invent and polish the arts of usefulness and beauty, may perfect the loftier arts of virtue and empire, open and work the richer mines of the universal youthful heart and intellect, and spread out a dwelling for the Muse on the glittering summits of Freedom,—to found such a state is first of heroical labors, and heroical glories. To build a pyramid or a harbor, to write an epic poem, to construct a system of the universe, to take a city, are great, or may be, but far less than this.

He, then, who sets a colony on foot, designs a great work. He designs all the good, and all the glory, of which, in the series of ages, it may be the means; and he shall be judged more by the lofty ultimate aim and result, than by the actual instant motive. You may well admire, therefore, the solemn and adorned plausibilities of the colonizing of Rome from Troy, in the Æneid; though the leader had been burned out of house and home, and could not choose but go. You may find in the flight of the female founder of the gloomy greatness of Carthage, a certain epic interest; yet was she running from the madness of her husband to save her

life. Emigrations from our stocked communities of undeified men and women,—emigrations for conquest, for gold, for very restlessness of spirit,—if they grow towards an imperial issue, have all thus a prescriptive and recognized ingredient of heroism. But when the immediate motive is as grand as the ultimate hope was lofty, and the ultimate success splendid, then, to use an expression of Bacon's, "the music is fuller."

I distinguish, then, this enterprise of our fathers, in the first place, by the character of the immediate motive.

And that was, first, a sense of religious duty. They had adopted opinions in religion, which they fully believed they ought to profess, and a mode of public worship and ordinances, which they fully believed they ought to observe. They could not do so in England; and they went forth—man, woman, the infant at the breast—across an ocean in winter, to find a wilderness where they could. To the extent of this motive, therefore, they went forth to glorify God, and by obeying his written will, and his will unwritten, but uttered in the voice of conscience concerning the chief end of man.

It was next, a thirst for freedom from unnecessary restraint, which is tyranny,—freedom of the soul, freedom of thought, a larger measure of freedom of life,—a thirst which two centuries had been kindling, a thirst which must be slaked, though but from the mountain torrent, though but from drops falling from the thunder cloud, though but from fountains lone and far, and guarded as the diamond of the desert.

These were the motives,—the sense of duty, and the spirit of liberty. Great sentiments, great in man, in nations, "pregnant with celestial fire!"—wherewithal could you fashion a people for the contentions and honors and uses of the imperial state so well as by exactly these? To what, rather than these, would you

wish to trace up the first beatings of the nation's heart? If, from the whole field of occasion and motive, you could have selected the very passion, the very chance, which should begin your history, the very texture and pattern and hue of the glory which should rest on its first days, could you have chosen so well? The sense of duty, the spirit of liberty, not prompting to vanity or luxury or dishonest fame, to glare or clamor or hollow circumstance of being, silent, intense, earnest, of force to walk through the furnace of fire, yea, the valley of the shadow of death, to open a path amid the sea, to make the wilderness to bud and blossom as the rose, to turn back half a world in arms, to fill the amplest measure of a nation's praise!

I am glad, then, that one of our own poets could truly say,

> "Nor lure of conquest's meteor beam,
> Nor dazzling mines of fancy's dream,
> Nor wild adventure's love to roam,
> Brought from their fathers' ancient home,
> O'er the wide sea, the Pilgrim host!"

I should be glad of it, if I were looking back to the past of our history merely for the moral picturesque,—if I were looking back merely to find splendid moral scenery, mountain elevations, falls of water watched by the rainbow of sunlight and moonlight, colossal forms, memorable deeds, renown and grace that could not die, —if I were looking merely to find materials for sculpture, for picture, for romance,—subjects for the ballad by which childhood shall be sung to sleep, subjects for the higher minstrelsy that may fill the eye of beauty and swell the bosom of manhood,—if I were looking back for these alone, I should be glad that the praise is true. Even to such an eye, the embarkation of the Pilgrims

and the lone path of The Mayflower upon the "astonished sea" were a grander sight than navies of mightiest admirals seen beneath the lifted clouds of battle; grander than the serried ranks of armed men moving by tens of thousands to the music of an unjust glory. If you take to pieces and carefully inspect all the efforts, all the situations, of that moral sublime which gleams forth, here and there, in the true or the feigned narrative of human things,—deaths of martyrs, or martyred patriots, or heroes in the hour of victory, revolutions, reformations, self-sacrifices, fields lost or won,—you will find nothing nobler at their source than the motives and the hopes of that ever-memorable voyage. These motives and these hopes—the sacred sentiments of duty, obedience to the will of God, religious trust, and the spirit of liberty—have inspired, indeed, all the beautiful and all the grand in the history of man. The rest is commonplace. "The rest is vanity; the rest is crime."

I distinguish this enterprise of our fathers next, by certain peculiarities of trial which it encountered and vanquished on the shores of the New World. You have seen the noble spring of character and motive from which the current of our national fortunes has issued forth. You can look around you to-day, and see into how broad and deep a stream that current has expanded, what beams of the sun, still climbing the eastern sky, play on its surface, what accumulations of costly and beautiful things it bears along, through what valley of happiness and rest it rolls towards some mightier sea. But turn for a moment to its earlier course.

The first generation of the Pilgrims arrived in 1620. I suppose that within fifty years more that generation had wholly passed away. Certainly its term of active

labor and responsible care had been accomplished. Looking to its actual achievements, our first, perhaps our final impulse is, not to pity, but to congratulate these ancient dead, on the felicity and the glory of their lot on earth. In that brief time, not the full age of man,—in the years of nations, in the larger cycles of the race, less than a moment,—the New England which to-day we love, to which our hearts untravelled go back, even from this throne of the American commercial world,—that New England, in her groundwork and essential nature, was established forever between her giant mountains and her espoused sea. There already —ay, in The Mayflower's cabin, before they set foot on shore—was representative republican government. There were the congenial institutions and sentiments from which such government imbibes its power of life. There already, side by side, were the securities of conservatism and the germs of progress. There already were the congregational church and the free school; the trial by jury; the statutes of distributions; just so much of the written and unwritten reason of England as might fitly compose the jurisprudence of liberty. By a happy accident, or instinct, there already was the legalized and organized town, that seminary and central point, and exemplification of elementary democracy. Silently adopted, everywhere and in all things assumed, penetrating and tinging everything,—the church, the government, law, education, the very structure of the mind itself,—was the grand doctrine, that all men are born equal and born free, that they are born to the same inheritance exactly of chances and of hopes; that every child, on every bosom, of right ought to be, equally with every other, invited and stimulated, by every social and every political influence, to strive for the happiest life, the largest future, the most

conspicuous virtue, the fullest mind, the brightest wreath.

There already were all, or the chief and higher influences, by which comes the heart of a nation. There was reverence of law,—"Our guardian angel, and our avenging friend." There were the councils of the still venerated aged. There was the open Bible. There were marriage, baptism, the burial of the dead, the keeping of the Sabbath-day, the purity of a sister's love, a mother's tears, a father's careful brow. All these things had been provided and garnered up. With how much practical sagacity they had been devised; how skilfully adapted to the nature of things and the needs of men; how well the principle of permanence had been harmonized with the principle of progression; what diffusiveness and immortality of fame they will insure, we have lived late enough to know. On these works, legible afar off, cut deep beyond the tooth of time, the long procession of the generations shall read their names.

But we should miss the grandest and most salutary lesson of our heroic age; we should miss the best proof and illustration of its heroic claims, if we should permit the wisdom with which that generation acted, to hide from our view the intensity and dignity with which they suffered. It was therefore that I was about to distinguish this enterprise, in the second place, by certain peculiarities of its trials.

The general fact and the mournful details of that extremity of suffering which marked the first few years from the arrival, you all know. It is not these I design to repeat. We have heard from our mothers' lips, that, although no man or woman or child perished by the arrow, mightier enemies encompassed them at the very water's edge. Of the whole number of one hundred,

one half landed to die within a year,—almost one half in the first three months,—to die of disease brought on by the privations and confinement of the voyage, by wading to the land, by insufficient and unfit food and dress and habitation,—brought on thus, but rendered mortal by want of that indispensable and easy provision which Christianity, which Civilization everywhere makes for all their sick. Once seven only were left in health and strength, to attend on the others. There and thus they died. "In a battle," said the admirable Robinson, writing from Leyden to the survivors in the June after they landed,—"in a battle it is not looked for but that divers should die; it is thought well for a side, if it get the victory, though with the loss of divers, if not too many or too great." But how sore a mortality in less than a year, almost within a fourth of that time, of fifty in one hundred!

In a late visit to Plymouth, I sought the spot where these earlier dead were buried. It was on a bank, somewhat elevated, near, fronting, and looking upon the waves,—symbol of what life had been to them,—ascending inland behind and above the rock,—symbol also of that Rock of Ages on which the dying had rested in the final hour. As the Pilgrims found these localities, you might stand on that bank and hear the restless waters chafe and melt against that steadfast base; the unquiet of the world composing itself at the portals of the grave. There certainly were buried the first governor, and Rose, the wife of Miles Standish. "You will go to them," wrote Robinson in the same letter from which I have quoted, "but they shall not return to you."

When this sharp calamity had abated, and before, came famine. "I have seen," said Edward Winslow, "strong men staggering through faintness for want of

food." And after this, and during all this, and for years, there brooded in every mind, not a weak fear, but an intelligent apprehension, that at any instant—at midnight, at noonday, at the baptism, at the burial, in the hour of prayer—a foe more cruel than the grave, might blast in an hour that which disease and want had so hardly let live. How they bore all this, you also know. One fact suffices. When in April The Mayflower sailed for England, not one Pilgrim was found to go.

The peculiarity which has seemed to me to distinguish these trials of the Pilgrim Age from those, from the chief of those, which the general voice of literature has concurred to glorify as the trials of heroism; the peculiarity which gives to these, and such as these, the attributes of a truer heroism, is this—that they had to meet them on what was then an humble, obscure, and distant stage; with no numerous audience to look on and applaud, and cast its wreaths on the fainting brow of him whose life was rushing with his blood, and unsustained by a single one of those stronger and more stimulating and impulsive passions and aims and sentiments, which carry a soldier to his grave of honor as joyfully as to the bridal bed. Where were the Pilgrims while in this furnace of affliction? Who saw and cared for them? A hundred persons, understood to be Lollards, or Precisians, or Puritans, or Brownists, had sailed away some three thousand miles, to arrive on a winter's coast, in order to be where they could hear a man preach without a surplice! That was just about all, England, or the whole world of civilization, at first knew, or troubled itself to believe, about the matter. If every one had died of lung fever, or starved to death, or fallen by the tomahawk, that first winter, and The Mayflower had carried the news, I wonder how many

of even the best in England—the accomplished, the beautiful, the distinguished, the wise—would have heard of it. A heart, or more than one, in Leyden, would have broken; and that had been all. I wonder if King James would have cried as heartily as in the "Fortunes of Nigel" he does in anticipation of his own death and the sorrow of his subjects! I wonder what in a later day the author of "Hudibras" and the author of the "Hind and Panther," would have found to say about it, for the wits of Charles the Second's court. What did anybody even in Puritan England know of these Pilgrims? They had been fourteen years in Holland; English Puritanism was taking care of itself! They were alone on the earth; and there they stood directly, and only, in their great Taskmaster's eye. Unlike even the martyrs, around whose ascending chariot-wheels and horses of fire, congregations might come to sympathize, and bold blasphemers to be defied and stricken with awe,—these were all alone. Those two ranges of small houses, not over ten in all, with oil paper for windows; that ship, The Mayflower, riding at the distance of a mile,—these were every memorial and trace of friendly civilization in New England. Primeval forests, a winter sea, a winter sky, enclosed them about, and shut out every approving and every sympathizing eye of man! To play the part of heroism on its high places is not difficult. To do it alone, as seeing Him who is invisible, was the gigantic achievement of our age and our race of heroism.

I have said, too, that a peculiarity in their trial was, that they were unsustained altogether by every one of the passions, aims, stimulants, and excitations,—the anger, the revenge, the hate, the pride, the awakened dreadful thirst of blood, the consuming love of glory, that burn, as in volcanic isles, in the heart of a mere

secularized heroism. Not one of all these aids did, or could, come in use for them at all. Their character and their situation, both, excluded them. Their enemies were disease, walking in darkness and wasting at noonday; famine which, more than all other calamity, bows the spirit of man, and teaches him what he is; the wilderness; spiritual foes in the high places of the unseen world. Even when the first Indian was killed, —in presence of which enemy, let me say, not one ever quailed,—the exclamation of Robinson was, "Oh that you had converted some, before you had killed any!"

Now, I say, the heroism which in a great cause can look all the more terrible ills that flesh is heir to calmly in the face, and can tread them out as sparks under its feet without these aids, is at least as lofty a quality as that which cannot. To my eye, as I look back, it looms on the shores of the past with a more towering grandeur. It seems to me to speak from our far ancestral life, a higher lesson, to a nobler nature; certainly it is the rarer and more difficult species. If one were called on to select the more glittering of the instances of military heroism to which the admiration of the world has been most attracted, he would make choice, I imagine, of the instance of that desperate valor, with which, in obedience to the laws, Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans, cast themselves headlong at the passes of Greece on the myriads of their Persian invaders. From the simple page of Herodotus, longer than from the Amphictyonic monument, or the games of the commemoration, that act speaks still to the tears and praise of all the world. Yet I agree with a late brilliant writer in his speculation on the probable feelings of that devoted band, left alone, or waiting, till day should break, the approach of a certain death in that solitary defile. "Their enthusiasm, and the rigid

and Spartan spirit which had made all ties subservient to obedience to the law, all excitement tame to that of battle, all pleasures dull to the anticipation of glory, probably rendered the hour preceding death the most enviable of their lives. They might have exulted in the same elevating fanaticism which distinguished afterwards the followers of Mahomet, and have seen that opening paradise in immortality below, which the Moslemin beheld in anticipation above." Judge if it were not so. Judge if a more decorated and conspicuous stage was ever erected for the transaction of a deed of fame. Every eye in Greece; every eye throughout the world of civilization,—throughout even the civilized and barbaric East,—was felt to be turned directly on the playing of that brief part. There passed round that narrow circle in the tent, the stern, warning image of Sparta, pointing to their shields and saying, "With these to-morrow, or upon them!" Consider that the one concentrated and comprehensive sentiment, graven on their souls as by fire and by steel; by all the influences of their whole life; by the mother's lips; by the father's example; by the law; by venerated religious rites; by public opinion strong enough to change the moral qualities of things; by the whole fashion and nature of Spartan culture, was this: seek first, seek last, seek always, the glory of conquering or falling on a well-fought field. Judge if that night, as they watched the dawn of the last morning their eyes could ever see; as they heard with every passing hour the hum of the invading host, his dusky lines stretched out without end, and now almost encircling them around; as they remembered their unprofaned home, city of heroes and of the mothers of heroes; judge if watching there in the gateway of Greece, this sentiment did not grow to the nature of madness; if it did not run in tor-

rents of literal fire to and from the laboring heart. When morning came and passed, and they had dressed their long locks, and when at noon the countless and glittering throng was seen at last to move, was it not with rapture, as if all the enjoyment of all the sensations of life was in that one moment, that they cast themselves, with the fierce gladness of mountain torrents, on that brief revelry of glory?

I acknowledge the splendor of that transaction in all its aspects. I admit its morality, too, and its useful influence on every Grecian heart, in that her great crisis. And yet do you not think, that whoso could by adequate description bring before you that first winter of the Pilgrims; its brief sunshine; the nights of storms slow waning; its damp or icy breath felt on the pillow of the dying; its destitution; its contrasts with all their former experience of life; its insulation and utter loneliness; its death-beds and burials; its memories; its apprehensions; its hopes; the consultations of the prudent; the prayers of the pious; the occasional hymn which may have soothed the spirit of Luther, in which the strong heart threw off its burden and asserted its unvanquished nature; do you not think that whoso could describe them calmly waiting in that defile, lonelier and darker than Thermopylæ, for a morning that might never dawn, or might show them when it did, a mightier arm than the Persian, raised as in act to strike, would he not sketch a scene of more difficult and rarer heroism,—a scene, as Wordsworth has said, "Melancholy, yea dismal, yet consolatory and full of joy,"—a scene even better fitted than that to succor, to exalt, to lead the forlorn hopes of all great causes, till time shall be no more?

I can seem to see, as that hard and dark season was passing away, a diminished procession of these Pil-

grims following another, dearly loved and newly dead, to that bank of graves, and pausing sadly there before they shall turn away to see that face no more. In full view from that spot is The Mayflower still riding at her anchor, but to sail in a few days more for England, leaving them alone, the living and the dead, to the weal or woe of their new home. I cannot say what was the entire emotion of that moment and that scene; but the tones of the venerated elder's voice, as they gathered round him, were full of cheerful trust, and they went to hearts as noble as his own. "This spot," he might say, "this line of shore, yea, this whole land, grows dearer daily, were it only for the precious dust which we have committed to its bosom. I would sleep here and have my own hour come, rather than elsewhere, with those who shared with us in our exceeding labors, whose burdens are now unloosed forever. I would be near them in the last day, and have a part in their resurrection. And now," he proceeded, "let us go from the side of the grave to work with all our might that which we have to do. It is on my mind that our night of sorrow is wellnigh ended, and that the joy of our morning is at hand. The breath of the pleasant south-west is here, and the singing of birds. The sore sickness is stayed; somewhat more than half our number still remain; and among these some of our best and wisest, though others are fallen on sleep. Matter of joy and thanksgiving it is, that among you all, the living and the dead, I know not one, even when disease had touched him, and sharp grief had made his heart as a little child's, who desired, yea, who could have been entreated, to go back to England by yonder ship. Plainly is it God's will that we stand or fall here. All His providences these hundred years declare it as with beams of the sun. Did He not set His bow in the

clouds in that bitterest hour of our embarking, and build His glorious ark upon the sea for us to sail through hitherward? Wherefore, let us stand in our lot! If He prosper us we shall found a church against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; and a colony, yea, a nation, by which all other nations shall be healed. Millions shall spring from our loins, and trace back with lineal love their blood to ours. Centuries hereafter, in great cities, the capitals of mighty States, from the tribes of a common Israel, shall come together the good, the eminent, the beautiful, to remember our dark day of small things; yea, generations shall call us blessed!"

Without a sigh, calmly, with triumph, they sent The Mayflower away, and went back, these stern, strong men, all, all, to their imperial labors.

I have said that I deemed it a great thing for a nation, in all the periods of its fortunes, to be able to look back to a race of founders and a principle of institution in which it might seem to see the realized idea of true heroism. That felicity, that pride, that help, is ours. Our past—both its great eras, that of settlement and that of independence—should announce, should compel, should spontaneously evolve as from a germ, a wise, moral, and glorious future. These heroic men and women should not look down on a dwindled posterity. It should seem to be almost of course, too easy to be glorious, that they who keep the graves, bear the name, and boast the blood, of men in whom the loftiest sense of duty blended itself with the fiercest spirit of liberty, should add to their freedom, justice; justice to all men, to all nations; justice, that venerable virtue, without which freedom, valor, and power, are but vulgar things.

And yet is the past nothing, even our past, but as you, quickened by its examples, instructed by its experience,

warned by its voices, assisted by its accumulated instrumentality, shall reproduce it in the life of to-day. Its once busy existence, various sensations, fiery trials, dear-bought triumphs; its dynasty of heroes, all its pulses of joy and anguish, and hope and fear, and love and praise, are with the years beyond the flood. "The sleeping and the dead are but as pictures." Yet, gazing on these, long and intently and often, we may pass into the likeness of the departed,—may emulate their labors, and partake of their immortality.

RESPONSE

MR. PRESIDENT:—I have a grateful duty to perform in acknowledging the kindness of the sentiment thus expressed towards me. And yet I must say, Gentlemen, that I rise upon this occasion under a consciousness that I may probably disappoint highly raised, too highly raised expectations. In the scenes of this evening, and in the scene of this day, my part is an humble one. I can enter into no competition with the fresher geniuses of those more eloquent gentlemen, learned and reverend, who have addressed this Society. I may perform, however, the humbler, but sometimes useful, duty of contrast, by adding the dark ground of the picture, which shall serve to bring out the more brilliant colors.

I must receive, Gentlemen, the sentiment proposed by the worthy and distinguished citizen of New York before me, as intended to convey the idea that, as a citizen of New England, as a son, a child, a *creation* of New England, I may be yet supposed to entertain, in some degree, that enlarged view of my duty as a citizen of the United States and as a public man, which may, in some small measure, commend me to the regard of the whole country. While I am free to confess, Gentlemen, that there is no compliment of which I am more desirous to be thought worthy, I will add, that a compliment of that kind could have proceeded

from no source more agreeable to my own feelings than from the gentleman who has proposed it,—an eminent merchant, the member of a body of eminent merchants, known throughout the world for their intelligence and enterprise. I the more especially feel this, Gentlemen, because, whether I view the present state of things or recur to the history of the past, I can in neither case be ignorant how much that profession, and its distinguished members, from an early day of our history, have contributed to make the country what it is, and the government what it is.

Gentlemen, the free nature of our institutions, and the popular form of those governments which have come down to us from the Rock of Plymouth, give scope to intelligence, to talent, enterprise, and public spirit, from all classes making up the great body of the community. And the country has received benefit in all its history and in all its exigencies, of the most eminent and striking character, from persons of the class to which my friend before me belongs. Who will ever forget that the first name signed to our ever-memorable and ever-glorious Declaration of Independence is the name of John Hancock, a merchant of Boston? Who will ever forget that, in the most disastrous days of the Revolution, when the treasury of the country was bankrupt, with unpaid navies and starving armies, it was a merchant,—Robert Morris of Philadelphia,—who, by a noble sacrifice of his own fortune, as well as by the exercise of his great financial abilities, sustained and supported the wise men of the country in council, and the brave men of the country in the field of battle? Nor are there wanting more recent instances. I have the pleasure to see near me, and near my friend who proposed this sentiment, the son of an eminent merchant of New England (Mr. Goodhue), an early mem-

ber of the Senate of the United States, always consulted, always respected, in whatever belonged to the duty and the means of putting in operation the financial and commercial system of the country; and this mention of the father of my friend brings to my mind the memory of his great colleague, the early associate of Hamilton and of Ames, trusted and beloved by Washington, consulted on all occasions connected with the administration of the finances, the establishment of the treasury department, the imposition of the first rates of duty, and with every thing that belonged to the commercial system of the United States,—George Cabot, of Massachusetts.

I will take this occasion to say, Gentlemen, that there is no truth better developed and established in the history of the United States, from the formation of the Constitution to the present time, than this,—that the mercantile classes, the great commercial masses of the country, whose affairs connect them strongly with every State in the Union and with all the nations of the earth, whose business and profession give a sort of nationality to their character,—that no class of men among us, from the beginning, have shown a stronger and firmer devotion to whatsoever has been designed, or to whatever has tended, to preserve the union of these States and the stability of the free government under which we live. The Constitution of the United States, in regard to the various municipal regulations and local interests, has left the States individual, disconnected, isolated. It has left them their own codes of criminal law; it has left them their own system of municipal regulations. But there was one great interest, one great concern, which, from the very nature of the case, was no longer to be left under the regulations of the then thirteen, afterwards twenty, and now twen-

ty-six States, but was committed, necessarily committed, to the care, the protection, and the regulation of one government; and this was that great unit, as it has been called, the commerce of the United States. There is no commerce of New York, no commerce of Massachusetts, none of Georgia, none of Alabama or Louisiana. All and singular, in the aggregate and in all its parts, is the commerce of the United States, regulated at home by a uniform system of laws under the authority of the general government, and protected abroad under the flag of our government, the glorious *E Pluribus Unum*, and guarded, if need be, by the power of the general government all over the world. There is, therefore, Gentlemen, nothing more cementing, nothing that makes us more cohesive, nothing that more repels all tendencies to separation and dismemberment, than this great, this common, I may say this overwhelming interest of one commerce, one general system of trade and navigation, one everywhere and with every nation of the globe. There is no flag of any particular American State seen in the Pacific seas, or in the Baltic, or in the Indian Ocean. Who knows, or who hears, there of your proud State, or of my proud State? Who knows, or who hears, of any thing, at the extremest north or south, or at the antipodes,—in the remotest regions of the Eastern or Western Sea,—who ever hears, or knows, of any thing but an American ship, or of any American enterprise of a commercial character that does not bear the impression of the American Union with it?

It would be a presumption of which I cannot be guilty, Gentlemen, for me to imagine for a moment, that, among the gifts which New England has made to our common country, I am any thing more than one of the most inconsiderable. I readily bring to mind the

great men, not only with whom I have met, but those of the generation before me, who now sleep with their fathers, distinguished in the Revolution, distinguished in the formation of the Constitution and in the early administration of the government, always and everywhere distinguished; and I shrink in just and conscious humiliation before their established character and established renown; and all that I venture to say, and all that I venture to hope may be thought true, in the sentiment proposed, is, that, so far as mind and purpose, so far as intention and will, are concerned, I may be found among those who are capable of embracing the whole country of which they are members in a proper, comprehensive, and patriotic regard. We all know that the objects which are nearest are the objects which are dearest; family affections, neighborhood affections, social relations, these in truth are nearest and dearest to us all: but whosoever shall be able rightly to adjust the graduation of his affections, and to love his friends and his neighbors, and his country, as he ought to love them, merits the commendation pronounced by the philosophic poet upon him

"Qui didicit patriæ quid debeat, et quid amicis."

Gentlemen, it has been my fortune, in the little part which I have acted in public life, for good or for evil to the community, to be connected entirely with that government which, within the limits of constitutional power, exercises jurisdiction over all the States and all the people. My friend at the end of the table on my left has spoken pleasantly to us to-night of the reputed miracles of tutelar saints. In a sober sense, in a sense of deep conviction, I say that the emergence of this country from British domination, and its union under

its present form of government beneath the general Constitution of the country, if not a miracle, is, I do not say the most, but one of the most fortunate, the most admirable, the most auspicious occurrences, which have ever fallen to the lot of man. Circumstances have wrought out for us a state of things which, in other times and other regions, philosophy has dreamed of, and theory has proposed, and speculation has suggested, but which man has never been able to accomplish. I mean the government of a great nation over a vastly extended portion of the surface of the earth, *by means of local institutions for local purposes, and general institutions for general purposes.* I know of nothing in the history of the world, notwithstanding the great league of Grecian states, notwithstanding the success of the Roman system, (and certainly there is no exception to the remark in modern history,)—I know of nothing so suitable on the whole for the great interests of a great people spread over a large portion of the globe, as the provision of local legislation for local and municipal purposes, with, not a confederacy, nor a loose binding together of separate parts, but a limited, positive general government for positive general purposes, over the whole. We may derive eminent proofs of this truth from the past and the present. What see we to-day in the agitations on the other side of the Atlantic? I speak of them, of course without expressing any opinion on questions of politics in a foreign country; but I speak of them as an occurrence which shows the great expediency, the utility, I may say the necessity, of local legislation. If, in a country on the other side of the water (Ireland), there be some who desire a severance of one part of the empire from another, under a proposition of repeal, there are others who propose a continuance of the existing relation

under a federative system: and what is this? No more, and no less, than an approximation to that system under which we live, which for local, municipal purposes shall have a local legislature, and for general purposes a general legislature.

This becomes the more important when we consider that the United States stretch over so many degrees of latitude,—that they embrace such a variety of climate, —that various conditions and relations of society naturally call for different laws and regulations. Let me ask whether the legislature of New York could wisely pass laws for the government of Louisiana, or whether the legislature of Louisiana could wisely pass laws for Pennsylvania or New York? Every body will say, "No." And yet the interests of New York and Pennsylvania and Louisiana, in whatever concerns their relations between themselves and their general relations with all the states of the world, are found to be perfectly well provided for, and adjusted with perfect congruity, by committing these general interests to one common government, the result of popular general elections among them all.

I confess, Gentlemen, that having been, as I have said, in my humble career in public life, employed in that portion of the public service which is connected with the general government, I have contemplated, as the great object of every proceeding, not only the particular benefit of the moment, or the exigency of the occasion, but the preservation of this system; for I do consider it so much the result of circumstances, and that so much of it is due to fortunate concurrence, as well as to the sagacity of the great men acting upon those occasions,—that it is an experiment of such remarkable and renowned success,—that he is a fool or a madman who would wish to try that experiment a second time. I see to-day, and we all see, that the de-

scendants of the Puritans who landed upon the Rock of Plymouth; the followers of Raleigh, who settled Virginia and North Carolina; he who lives where the truncheon of empire, so to speak, was borne by Smith; the inhabitants of Georgia; he who settled under the auspices of France at the mouth of the Mississippi; the Swede on the Delaware, the Quaker of Pennsylvania,—all find, at this day, their common interest, their common protection, their common *glory*, under the united government, which leaves them all, nevertheless, in the administration of their own municipal and local affairs, to be Frenchmen, or Swedes, or Quakers, or whatever they choose. And when one considers that this system of government, I will not say has produced, because God and nature and circumstances have had an agency in it,—but when it is considered that this system has not prevented, but has rather encouraged, the growth of the people of this country from three millions, on the glorious 4th of July, 1776, to seventeen millions now, who is there that will say, upon this hemisphere,—nay, who is there that will stand up in any hemisphere, who is there in any part of the world, that will say that the great experiment of a united republic has *failed* in America? And yet I know, Gentlemen, I feel, that this united system is held together by strong tendencies to union, at the same time that it is kept from too much leaning toward consolidation by a strong tendency in the several States to support each its own power and consideration. In the physical world it is said, that

"All nature's difference keeps all nature's peace,"

and there is in the political world this same harmonious difference, this regular play of the positive and negative powers (if I may so say), which, at least for one

glorious half-century, has kept us as we have been kept, and made us what we are.

But, Gentlemen, I must not allow myself to pursue this topic. It is a sentiment so commonly repeated by me upon all public occasions, and upon all private occasions, and everywhere, that I forbear to dwell upon it now. It is the union of these States, it is the system of government under which we live, beneath the Constitution of the United States, happily framed, wisely adopted, successfully administered for fifty years,—it is mainly this, I say, that gives us power at home and credit abroad. And, for one, I never stop to consider the power or wealth or greatness of a State. I tell you, Mr. Chairman, I care nothing for your Empire State as such. Delaware and Rhode Island are as high in my regard as New York. In population, in power, in the government over us, you have a greater share. You would have the same share if you were divided into forty States. It is not, therefore, as a State sovereignty, it is only because New York is a vast portion of the whole American people, that I regard this State, as I always shall regard her, as respectable and honorable. But among State sovereignties there is no preference; there is nothing high and nothing low; every State is independent and every State is equal. If we depart from this great principle, then we are no longer one people; but we are thrown back again upon the Confederation, and upon that state of things in which the inequality of the States produced all the evils which befell us in times past, and a thousand ill-adjusted and jarring interests.

Mr. President, I wish, then, without pursuing these thoughts, without especially attempting to produce any fervid impression by dwelling upon them, to take this occasion to answer my friend who has proposed the

sentiment, and to respond to it by saying, that whoever would serve his country in this our day, with whatever degree of talent, great or small, it may have pleased the Almighty Power to give him, he cannot serve it, he will not serve it, unless he be able, at least, to extend his political designs, purposes, and objects, till they shall comprehend the whole country of which he is a servant.

Sir, I must say a word in connection with that event which we have assembled to commemorate. It has seemed fit to the dwellers in New York, New-Englanders by birth or descent, to form this society. They have formed it for the relief of the poor and distressed, and for the purpose of commemorating annually the great event of the settlement of the country from which they spring. It would be great presumption in me to go back to the scene of that settlement, or to attempt to exhibit it in any colors, after the exhibition made to-day; yet it is an event that in all time since, and in all time to come, and more in times to come than in times past, must stand out in great and striking characteristics to the admiration of the world. The sun's return to his winter solstice, in 1620, is the epoch from which he dates his first acquaintance with the small people, now one of the happiest, and destined to be one of the greatest, that his rays fall upon; and his annual visitation, from that day to this, to our frozen region, has enabled him to see that progress, *progress*, was the characteristic of that small people. He has seen them from a handful, that one of his beams coming through a key-hole might illuminate, spread over a hemisphere, which he cannot enlighten under the slightest eclipse. Nor, though this globe should revolve around him for tens of hundreds of thousands of years, will he see such another incipient colonization upon any

part of this attendant upon his mighty orb. What else he may see in those other planets which revolve around him we cannot tell, at least until we have tried the fifty-foot telescope which Lord Rosse is preparing for that purpose.

There is not, Gentlemen, and we may as well admit it, in any history of the past, another epoch from which so many great events have taken a turn; events which, while important to us, are equally important to the country from whence we came. The settlement of Plymouth—concurring, I always wish to be understood, with that of Virginia—was the settlement of New England by colonies of Old England. Now, Gentlemen, take these two ideas and run out the thoughts suggested by both. What has been, and what is to be, Old England? What has been, what is, and what may be, in the providence of God, *New* England, with her neighbors and associates? I would not dwell, Gentlemen, with any particular emphasis upon the sentiment, which I nevertheless entertain, with respect to the great diversity in the races of men. I do not know how far in that respect I might not encroach on those mysteries of Providence which, while I adore, I may not comprehend; but it does seem to me to be very remarkable, that we may go back to the time when New England, or those who founded it, were *subtracted* from Old England; and both Old England and New England went on, nevertheless, in their mighty career of progress and power.

Let me begin with New England for a moment. What has resulted, embracing, as I say, the nearly contemporaneous settlement of Virginia,—what has resulted from the planting upon this continent of two or three slender colonies from the mother country? Gentlemen, the great epitaph commemorative of the char-

acter and the worth, the discoveries and glory, of Columbus, was, that he had *given a new world to the crowns of Castile and Aragon.* Gentlemen, this is a great mistake. It does not come up at all to the great merits of Columbus. He gave the territory of the southern hemisphere to the crowns of Castile and Aragon; but as a place for the plantation of colonies, as a place for the habitation of men, as a place to which laws and religion, and manners and science, were to be transferred, as a place in which the creatures of God should multiply and fill the earth, under friendly skies and with religious hearts, he gave it to the whole world, he gave it to universal man! From this seminal principle, and from a handful, a hundred saints, blessed of God and ever honored of men, landed on the shores of Plymouth and elsewhere along the coast, united, as I have said already more than once, in the process of time, with the settlement at Jamestown, has sprung this great people of which we are a portion.

I do not reckon myself among quite the oldest of the land, and yet it so happens that very recently I recurred to an exulting speech or oration of my own, in which I spoke of my country as consisting of nine millions of people. I could hardly persuade myself that within the short time which had elapsed since that epoch our population had doubled; and that at the present moment there does exist most unquestionably as great a probability of its continued progress, in the same ratio, as has ever existed in any previous time. I do not know whose imagination is fertile enough, I do not know whose conjectures, I may almost say, are *wild* enough to tell what may be the progress of wealth and population in the United States in half a century to come. All we know is, here is a people of from seventeen to twenty millions, intelligent, educated, free-

holders, freemen, republicans, possessed of all the means of modern improvement, modern science, arts, literature, with the world before them! There is nothing to check them till they touch the shores of the Pacific, and then, they are so much accustomed to water, that *that 's* a facility, and no obstruction!

So much, Gentlemen, for this branch of the English race; but what has happened, meanwhile, to England herself since the period of the departure of the Puritans from the coast of Lincolnshire, from the English Boston? Gentlemen, in speaking of the progress of English power, of English dominion and authority, from that period to the present, I shall be understood, of course, as neither entering into any defence or any accusation of the policy which has conducted her to her present state. As to the justice of her wars, the necessity of her conquests, the propriety of those acts by which she has taken possession of so great a portion of the globe, it is not the business of the present occasion to inquire. *Neque teneo, neque refello.* But I speak of them, or intend to speak of them, as facts of the most extraordinary character, unequalled in the history of any nation on the globe, and the consequences of which may and must reach through a thousand generations. The Puritans left England in the reign of James the First. England herself had then become somewhat settled and established in the Protestant faith, and in the quiet enjoyment of property, by the previous energetic, long, and prosperous reign of Elizabeth. Her successor was James the Sixth of Scotland, now become James the First of England; and here was a union of the crowns, but not of the kingdoms,—a very important distinction. Ireland was held by a military power, and one cannot but see that at that day, whatever may be true or untrue in more

recent periods of her history, Ireland was held by England by the two great potencies, the power of the sword and the power of confiscation. In other respects, England was nothing like the England which we now behold. Her foreign possessions were quite inconsiderable. She had some hold on the West India Islands; she had Acadia, or Nova Scotia, which King James granted, by wholesale, for the endowment of the knights whom he created by hundreds. And what has been her progress? Did she then possess Gibraltar, the key to the Mediterranean? Did she possess a port in the Mediterranean? Was Malta hers? Were the Ionian Islands hers? Was the southern extremity of Africa, was the Cape of Good Hope, hers? Were the whole of her vast possessions in India hers? Was her great Australian empire hers? While that branch of her population which followed the western star, and under its guidance committed itself to the duty of settling, fertilizing, and peopling an unknown wilderness in the West, were pursuing their destinies, other causes, providential doubtless, were leading English power eastward and southward, in consequence and by means of her naval prowess, and the extent of her commerce, until in our day we have seen that within the Mediterranean, on the western coast and at the southern extremity of Africa, in Arabia, in hither India and farther India, she has a population *ten times* as great as that of the British Isles two centuries ago. And recently, as we have witnessed,—I will not say with how much truth and justice, policy or impolicy, I do not speak at all to the morality of the action, I only speak to the *fact*,—she has found admission into China, and has carried the Christian religion and the Protestant faith to the doors of three hundred millions of people.

It has been said that whosoever would see the East-

ern world before it turns into a Western world must make his visit soon, because steamboats and omnibuses, commerce, and all the arts of Europe, are extending themselves from Egypt to Suez, from Suez to the Indian seas, and from the Indian seas all over the explored regions of the still farther East.

Now, Gentlemen, I do not know what practical views or what practical results may take place from this great expansion of the power of the two branches of Old England. It is not for me to say. I only can see, that on this continent *all* is to be *Anglo-American* from Plymouth Rock to the Pacific seas, from the north pole to California. That is certain; and in the Eastern world, I only see that you can hardly place a finger on a map of the world and be an *inch* from an English settlement.

Gentlemen, if there be any thing in the supremacy of races, the experiment now in progress will develop it. If there be any truth in the idea, that those who issued from the great Caucasian fountain, and spread over Europe, are to react on India and on Asia, and to act on the whole Western world, it may not be for us, nor our children, nor our grandchildren to see it, but it will be for our descendants of some generation to see the extent of that progress and dominion of the favored races.

For myself, I believe there is no limit fit to be assigned to it by the human mind, because I find at work everywhere, on both sides of the Atlantic, under various forms and degrees of restriction on the one hand, and under various degrees of motive and stimulus on the other hand, in these branches of a common race, the great principle *of the freedom of human thought, and the respectability of individual character*. I find everywhere an elevation of the charac-

ter of man as man, an elevation of the individual as a component part of society. I find everywhere a rebuke of the idea, that the many are made for the few, or that government is any thing but an *agency* for mankind. And I care not beneath what zone, frozen, temperate, or torrid; I care not of what complexion, white or brown; I care not under what circumstances of climate or cultivation, if I can find a race of men on an inhabitable spot of earth whose general sentiment it is, and whose general feeling it is, that government is made for man—man, as a religious, moral, and social being—and not man for government, there I know that I shall find prosperity and happiness.

Gentlemen, I forbear from these remarks. I recur with pleasure to the sentiment which I expressed at the commencement of my observations. I repeat the gratification which I feel at having been referred to on this occasion by a distinguished member of the mercantile profession; and without detaining you further, I beg to offer as a sentiment,—

"*The mercantile interest of the United States*, always and everywhere friendly to a united and free government."

[Mr. Webster sat down amid loud and repeated applause; and immediately after, at the request of the President, rose and said:—]

Gentlemen, I have the permission of the President to call your attention to the circumstance that a distinguished foreigner is at the table to-night, Mr. Aldham; a gentleman, I am happy to say, of my own hard-working profession, and a member of the English Parliament from the great city of Leeds. A traveller in the United States, in the most unostentatious manner, he

has done us the honor, at the request of the Society, to be present to-night. I rise, Gentlemen, to propose his health. He is of that Old England of which I have been speaking; of that Old England with whom we had some fifty years ago rather a serious family quarrel,—terminated in a manner, I believe, not particularly disadvantageous to either of us. He will find in this, his first visit to our country, many things to remind him of his own home, and the pursuits in which he is engaged in that home. If he will go into our courts of law, he will find those who practise there referring to the same books of authority, acknowledging the same principles, discussing the same subjects, which he left under discussion in Westminster Hall. If he go into our public assemblies, he will find the same rules of procedure—possibly not always quite as regularly observed—as he left behind him in that house of Parliament of which he is a member. At any rate, he will find us a branch of that great family to which he himself belongs, and I doubt not that, in his sojourn among us, in the acquaintances he may form, the notions he may naturally imbibe, he will go home to his own country somewhat better satisfied with what he has seen and learned on this side of the Atlantic, and somewhat more convinced of the great importance to both countries of preserving the peace that at present subsists between them. I propose to you, Gentlemen, the health of Mr. Aldham.

ΎΙΩΜΕΝ ᾽ΕΙΣ ᾽ΑΘΗΝΑΣ

ADDRESS

GEORGE PERKINS MARSH

1844

GEORGE PERKINS MARSH

(1801-1881.)

Mr. Marsh had just entered Congress from Vermont when asked to speak before the New England Society. He was a graduate of Dartmouth, and well known as a lecturer on the English language and literature and as the author of the scientific work, "The Earth as Modified by Human Action." Under President Taylor he had been minister to Turkey, and under President Lincoln he was appointed minister to Italy, in which post he served with honor twenty-one years. The anniversary address, delivered at the Tabernacle in 1844, is one of the best given before the society; but his vigorous praise of the Puritans and his grave warning to their descendants called forth remonstrances from friends as well as strangers. To appreciate the force of his words it must be remembered that they were written when the Puseyite movement in England was high in the ascendant, and when the battle seemed spreading to the American shore, bringing with it results unfortunate alike to Dissenter and Churchman.

ADDRESS

WHILE New England was yet united to our parent land, by ties of colonial dependence and golden links of filial affection, which the harsh alchemy of trans-atlantic oppression was fast transmuting to fetters of iron, our fathers were wont to speak of a voyage to England as a visit to their home. The mother country, unnatural as she had proved, was still regarded as the proper home even of those of her children, whom the unsparing rancour of priestly tyranny and religious hate had forced to seek a new abode in an unknown wilderness, and to exchange the domestic cruelties of the parent, for the hospitalities of the stranger and the tender mercies of the savage.

But the outcast colony has become herself a metropolis, and in turn sent forth swarms, whom no political severance, no memory of unmaternal wrongs, yet forbids to call her, Mother. To her scattered and undegenerate sons, New England is still the patriarchal tabernacle, and on this day, when the hearts of all her children are turned to that magnetic rock, I am here to invite you to re-visit your primeval home. Let us, then, on this her natal day, renew our homage to our venerable mother, kindle anew the fires of our patriotism by recurring to the memories of her youth, and animate and refresh our spirits by reverently listening to the counsels of her maturer age.

The home to which I invite you is not our material birthplace, nor shall I aim to touch your sympathies, by picturing to your fancy the scenes of your childhood, the sea, the mountain, the plain, or the river, which frowned or smiled on the mansions of your fathers, or the cottages of your widowed mothers, by reminding you of the elm that bent over your cradle, and the pines that sighed by the graves of your kindred, or by describing our aguish climate, with its alternations of chill and fever, where the fervid heat of a brief and fitful summer serves but to make more sensible the cold of a long and rigorous winter. Neither will I dwell on the institutions of our native land, the district free school, the humble church and its simple worship, the silence of the unbroken Sabbath, the free election, the equal rights and equal level of all her people; for these, even more than the local features, the soil and the climate, the hill and the valley, the streamlet and the ocean, characterize the material being of New England; but it is to the fundamental principles on which these institutions rest, and the inbred traits of character which mark us as a people, that I shall call your attention, and, so far as the brief hour, to which I am limited by the proprieties of the occasion, will permit, I shall develop those principles, and refer those characteristic traits to the external influences, which have implanted or strengthened them.

But I may well invite to accompany us, on this Thanksgiving visit, not the descendants of the Pilgrims alone, but all who share their principles, and especially those brothers of the same blood, twin scions of the ancient Gothic stock, with whom you are now domiciliated, and whose ancestors, after having themselves nobly fought and triumphed in the same glorious struggle against the crown and the mitre, received and

cheered with kindly sympathies your exiled forefathers, as they rested on their way, to gather strength for the long and hazardous pilgrimage that lay before them.

Nor do I address myself alone to the Christian philosopher, who knows that the integrity of his religion depends upon the cardinal doctrine of the Puritan faith, the recognition of both the authority and the sufficiency of the revealed and unsophisticated word of God; to the statesman, who is able to perceive the indissoluble connection between his country's weal and her adherence to those principles of civil and ecclesiastical polity which New Testament Christianity sanctions; to the merchant-prince, who is conscious that he owes to Puritan impulses those enterprising energies, of which his well-earned gains are the just and appropriate reward; to him who boasts a nobler genealogy than that of a Howard, because he bears a name that is subscribed to the covenant sealed in the Mayflower's cabin; but also to the humble and hopeful youth, who, having been bred in penury and ignorance, can hope to be emancipated from those shackles, only by the favor of such institutions as our ancestors have founded, and who cherishes that decent pride, which impels him to rely on his own energies, to despise the vanity of birth, and to thank God, that the current of his veins is tainted by no drop of royal or of noble blood.

In discussing the only subject appropriate to the occasion, it is not my aim to pamper or excite a feeling of sectional and disdainful pride, in the descendants of those to whom the cause of civil and religious liberty is so deeply indebted, but to awaken in you a conviction, that your virtues and your liberties can be maintained inviolate, only by a steady adherence to the grounds upon which they are founded, and in these days of evil omen, when the principles of your fathers

are every where spoken against, and the fierce strifes of contending factions, and the lust of temporal and ecclesiastical dominion, are threatening to rend the very framework of our social fabric, to rouse to action some of those heroic spirits, whose glory it is to deserve well of their country, by hoping, when other good men see cause only of despair.

There is a theory which teaches, both as a fact of observation, and as an universal law of nature, that all things into whose constitution material substance enters, whether they be animate or inanimate, organized or inorganic, individual or aggregate, have their necessary periods of inception, growth, maturity and decay. This general law, in its application to organic, or at least to animal life, seems to be necessary, and death is implied in the very idea of animated being; but with regard to inorganic things, though inexorable, it is but accidental. In the inorganic creation, origin, change and dissolution alike are brought about by the agency of external material causes, working in conjunction with the laws of spontaneous chemical action. Gravity, attraction and other mechanical forces bring into juxtaposition substances indued with various affinities, and the chemistry of inanimate nature combines them into forms, which, preserved against all forces but the particular attractions and cohesions by which they are built up, would continue without aliment or change, increase or diminution, and be as permanent as the immutable laws, which give them being. A stone or a metal, protected against the action of air, heat, moisture, and external mechanical forces, would be as durable as time itself. But such protection is impossible, for nature insulates nothing, and suffers none of her works to be permanently withdrawn from the sphere of any of her influences. The solid rock is rent by the

earthquake, shivered by frost, and wasted by the dropping rain; the hard metal is oxydised by the invisible moisture suspended in the clear atmosphere, and both are reduced from masses to fragments, from fragments to particles, and at last, perhaps, resolved into imperceptible gases. Beings possessed of organic life, on the other hand, though requiring the voluntary or fortuitous concurrence of external causes for birth, dependent on them for aliment and growth, and exposed to premature destruction or decay from their action, do nevertheless truly owe their conception, maturity and perfection, to an internal and superior vital law, not a mere dead force of affinity, attraction and repulsion, but a law of germination, development, assimilation and progress. But, unlike the chemical law, which tends to preserve the inorganic forms constructed by its energies, this law of life pronounces judgement of death on its offspring, and becomes the executioner of its own inevitable sentence. Organic life requires aliment and continued assimilation. For lack of aliment it perishes, but the food that supplies its nutrient juices brings with it the seeds of death. The very vital processes tend, in their continued action, to the destruction of the fabric they have reared. The constructive powers, which build up our material frames, acting in strict accordance with their own law, even under circumstances most favorable to the permanence of their works, by new elaboration, secretion and assimilation, clog up the ducts and cells, ossify the valves, make rigid the joints and flexures, and end by stopping and surrendering to the influence of the chemical forces, whose action organic life had suspended, or rather controlled, the machine themselves had created. Death from natural decay is the consequence, not of the exhaustion of the vital powers, but of their continued action, for life,

even as a destroyer, is always constructive. Thus the vital principle is itself suicidal. From conception to maturity, it is creative; but that point once passed, the Genius of Life inverts his torch, and becomes the Angel of Death. Saturn devours his children, and the various energies, to which animate forms owe their material being, work on, until, by conflicting action, they neutralize each other, and destroy their product.

According to the dark forebodings of this awful theory, even the great globe itself is subject to this same universal law, and has its periods of mutation and catastrophe, all tending to prepare it for final dissolution. Nay, its very occupancy by organized beings renders it incapable of permanent enjoyment, by successive generations of similar or allied orders of existences. Every breath forever unfits for respiration a portion of the circumambient atmosphere, and the equilibrium of its constituent gases is perpetually disturbed by vegetable exhalation. Every particle of matter, that has once entered into the constitution, or served the uses of a living being, becomes thereby less suitable for future organic combination. The return to earth's bosom of the mouldering form of each of her children irrecoverably taints a portion of her soil with a poison destructive to similar organic life. The action of sun and wind, frost and rain, is degrading continents, and the explosive power of volcanic forces is upheaving the bottom of oceans. Thus the relative proportions of land and water are deranged, terrestrial climates become too hot, too cold, too moist or too dry, for the present tribes of organized nature, and earth is continually growing unfit for the habitation of the living beings that animate her surface. All these, then, shall perish,—the flowers of the mead, the grasses of the plain, the leafy giants of the forest, the creeping worm and the buzzing fly,

the inhabitant of the waters, the fowl of the air, the beast of the field, man himself, who lords it over all,—and Earth is desolate. But she shall be re-peopled, again and again, by new creations of living beings, with forms, organs, and faculties suited to a new atmosphere, and a new configuration and consistence of surface. Thus change shall succeed change, until the combined action of vital and inorganic chemistry shall bring into conflict such mighty hostile energies, that earth's solid frame shall sink in the collision, the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the rocks become fluid, the waters evaporate, the heavens, the atmosphere, the subtle medium of light, shall pass away like a scroll, and the place now filled by this gladsome, busy world of life and energy and light, shall be a motionless, dark, and noiseless void.

It is said, too, that man, in his social capacity, is subject to a similar law. The life of an individual is an epitome of the history of a state. A nation first struggles into existence, as a colony or dependent province: then, fostered by care, or more probably favored by neglect, it gradually acquires strength, maturity, independence and power: then, after a few generations or centuries of glory and greatness, enervated by luxury, weakened by private and official corruption, and divided by faction, it falls an easy prey to domestic usurpation or foreign aggression, is impoverished by tyranny, or plundered by conquest, and, by incorporation or partition, loses its political individuality, and has no longer a place in the catalogue of independent sovereignties.

That such has been the general fate of empire, history abundantly shows. The glories of Grecian civilization, where the human intellect achieved its highest and most diversified triumphs, have been succeeded by the barbaric pride of the sensual Turk, and the iron

sway of heartless Rome, by the spiritual despotism of the unreasoning monk. The mephitic breath of Ahriman has quenched the eternal fires of old Persepolis, and the Simoom has blasted the flowery splendor of imperial Bagdad. Typhon's cloud broods over Thebes and Memphis. The history of Egypt is studied in her sepulchres, and the Etruscan races of primeval Italy are only known by the gorgeous furniture of their funerals. It is a question of grave and even fearful import, whether there is, in the constitution of modern civil society, any conservative element, which promises permanent duration to existing forms of social organization, any prophylactic against the corruptions of war and the cankers of peace, any mithridate against the insinuating and seductive poison of alien and anti-national influences, any corrective for that love of novelty and change, which leads men so readily to abandon the old and well approved truth, and its fruit, the venerable civil or religious institution, for the plausible, but uncertain theory, and the specious and hollow show of reform in church or state; or whether, on the other hand, it is the inexorable decree of the Creator, that nations, as well as individuals, shall have their ages of infancy and growth, their moment of full maturity, and their period of sudden convulsion, chronic disease and decline, or senile decay.

May we hope to find, in the invention of printing, the progress of science and the mechanic arts, the more intimate relations of international commerce and government, the extension of the principle of associate action, combined with equality of individual powers and duties, the increased respect for the rights of man, and their more general recognition by hereditary rulers, the growing reverence for law, and the consequent repugnance to war—the negation of all law, the wider diffu-

sion of scientific, political and religious knowledge, or the dissemination of sounder views of Christianity, any barrier against the possible encroachments of unchristianized barbarism, the love of conquest and spoil among the powers of Christendom, and the internal corruptions, which lead to dissension, rebellion, and revolution; or are we bound to believe, that the fortunes of the future will be but a repetition of the history of the past, that the Christian world will again and again be seared with fire and drenched in blood, that it will still be a theatre, whose shifting scenes shall exhibit perpetual change, the alternate supremacy of might and right, now force and arbitrary will victorious over law and reason, now the brief triumph of virtue over passion, resistance to lawful authority on the one hand, on the other, usurpation and contempt of human rights? Are law and anarchy, tyranny and freedom, like the good and evil principles of the Manichæan system, to wage perpetual war, or shall the reason of state at length achieve a final victory over the rebellious passions of social man?

These great questions, indeed, admit of no prospective solution, and it would be but an idle speculation to attempt to raise the veil with which an inscrutable Providence conceals the distant future, or even to seek to resolve the narrower problem, whether, as some wise men have believed, our particular Anglo-Saxon civilization is nearing its zenith, and, at some not distant epoch of the earth's great year, destined to give place to other forms of social life. But there are questions, concerning the present hopes and probable fate of those institutions in which we of New England have been nurtured, that demand our attention, because they involve matters of conscientious duty and immediate interest.

In order well and wisely to discharge the duty which

every free man owes to the land of his birth, it is indispensable that he know the true nature of her institutions, and comprehend how they have been shaped and modified by the predominant traits of national character: for free governments are never the result of accident, but always derive their original from the intelligent exercise of the national will, and, in their structure, conform to the genius of the people.

Upon every homogeneous nation, Providence impresses distinctive moral and intellectual traits, through the agency of natural causes, and of these, the influence of climate, soil, and the configuration of the earth's surface, is the most active and conspicuous.—To such influences, the great race, from which we are remotely derived, owes its most striking characteristics, and the same traits, though modified by the enjoyment of Albion's milder sky and more genial soil, for a period of ten centuries, were roused into distinct prominence in our immediate ancestors, by moral causes, and have recovered their original sharpness and consistence in us, their descendants, by our transfer to a harsher climate, a ruder landscape, and a more unthankful glebe.

What, then, are the fundamental traits of our hereditary character, and how have they been formed by the action of the influences around us? The word *home*, which I have so often used, and which is peculiar to our ancient tongue and its cognate dialects, suggests the most pregnant traits in the character of the ancestry from whom we sprang, and these traits, with their progeny of social virtues and intellectual excellences, are more unequivocally traceable than almost any other to the influence of climate. Both the word and the feelings which are clustered around it, in their strength and their tenderness, are the very "badge of our tribe," and it is well that a wise Providence has compensated, by a

daring and restless spirit of enterprise, an impulse, whose excess might detract from the energy, which the necessity of a never-ending struggle with the elements imperiously requires in the sons of the frigid and frugal North.

In the sunny climes of Southern Europe, where a sultry and relaxing day is followed by a balmy and refreshing night, and but a brief period intervenes between the fruits of Autumn and the renewed promises of Spring, life, both social and industrial, is chiefly passed beneath the open canopy of heaven. The brightest hours of the livelong day are dragged in drowsy, listless toil, or indolent repose; but the evening breeze invigorates the fainting frame, rouses the flagging spirit, and calls to dance and revelry, and song, beneath a brilliant moon or a starlit sky. No necessity exists for those household comforts, which are indispensable to the inhabitant of colder zones, and the charms of domestic life are scarcely known in their perfect growth. But in the frozen North, for a large portion of the year, the pale and feeble rays of a clouded sun but partially dispel, for a few short hours, the chills and shades of a lingering dawn, and an early and tedious night. Snows impede the closing labors of harvest, and stiffening frosts aggravate the fatigues of the wayfarer, and the toils of the forest. Repose, society and occupation alike, must, therefore, be sought at the domestic hearth. Secure from the tempest that howls without, the father and the brother here rest from their weary tasks; here the family circle is gathered around the evening meal, and lighter labor, cheered, not interrupted, by social intercourse, is resumed, and often protracted, till, like the student's vigils, it almost "outwatch the Bear." Here the child grows up under the ever watchful eye of the parent, in the first and best of

schools, where lisping infancy is taught the rudiments of sacred and profane knowledge, and the older pupil is encouraged to con over by the evening taper, the lessons of the day, and seek from the father or a more advanced brother, a solution of the problems, which juvenile industry has found too hard to master. The members of the domestic circle are thus brought into closer contact; parental authority assumes the gentler form of persuasive influence, and filial submission is elevated to affectionate and respectful observance. The necessity of mutual aid and forbearance, and the perpetual interchange of good offices, generate the tenderest kindliness of feeling, and a lasting warmth of attachment to home and its inmates, throughout the patriarchal circle.

Among the most important fruits of this domesticity of life, are the better appreciation of the worth of the female character, woman's higher rank as an object, not of passion, but of reverence, and the reciprocal moral influence which the two sexes exercise over each other. They are brought into close communion, under circumstances most favorable to preserve the purity of woman, and the decorum of man, and the character of each is modified, and its excesses restrained, by the example of the other. Man's rude energies are softened into something of the ready sympathy and dexterous helpfulness of woman, and woman, as she learns to prize and to reverence the independence, the heroic firmness, the patriotism of man, acquires and appropriates some tinge of his peculiar virtues. Such were the influences which formed the heart of the brave, good daughter of apostolic JOHN KNOX, who bearded that truculent pedant, JAMES I., and told him she would rather receive her husband's head in her lap, as it fell from the headsman's axe, than to consent that he should

purchase his life by apostasy from the religion he had preached, and the God he had worshipped. To the same noble school belonged that goodly company of the Mothers of New England, who shrank neither from the dangers of the tempestuous sea, nor the hardships and sorrows of that first awful winter, but were ever at man's side, encouraging, aiding, consoling, in every peril, every trial, every grief. Had that grand and heroic exodus, like the mere commercial enterprises to which most colonies owe their foundation, been unaccompanied by woman, at its first outgoing, it had, without a visible miracle, assuredly failed, and the world had wanted its fairest example of the Christian virtues, its most unequivocal tokens, that the Providence, which kindled the pillar of fire to lead the wandering steps of its people, yet has its chosen tribes, to whom it vouchsafes its wisest guidance and its choicest blessings. Other communities, nations, races, may glory in the exploits of their fathers; but it has been reserved to us of New England to know and to boast, that Providence has made the virtues of our mothers a yet more indispensable condition, and certain ground, both of our past prosperity and our future hope.

The strength of the domestic feeling engendered by the influences which I have described, and the truer and more intelligent mutual regard between the sexes, which is attributable to the same causes, are the principal reasons why those monastic institutions, which strike at the very root of the social fabric, and are eminently hostile to the practice of the noblest and loveliest public and private virtues, have met with less success, and numbered fewer votaries in Northern than in Southern Christendom. The celibacy of the clergy was last adopted, and first abandoned, in the North; the follies of the stylites, the lonely hermitages of the Thebaid,

the silence of La Trappe, the vows, which, seeming to renounce the pleasures of the world, do but abjure its better sympathies, and in fine, all the selfish austerities of that corrupted Christianity, which grossly seeks to compound by a mortified body for an unsubdued heart, originated in climates unfavorable to the growth and exercise of the household virtues.

The composure and concentration of domestic life are peculiarly propitious to intellectual occupation, to habits of patient mental labor, and to spiritual contemplation; and all these tendencies are strengthened, and the mind is predisposed to serious thought, by the mournful silence of the woods, the imprisonment of the lively current of the streams, the retreat of many tribes of animated being, the solitude of a sparse population, and the want of novelty and incident, which characterizes the wintry repose of nature in most cold climates.

These hereditary propensities our ancestors shared in common with all the descendants of the Gothic stock. The circumstances of their emigration would naturally incline them to theological speculation, and in the want of means for more varied mental culture, they could scarcely seek elsewhere food for a meditative spirit, than in the one book, which was found beneath the roof of the humblest cabin, and which they held to contain all useful moral precepts for this life, all needful guidance for that which is to come.

It was long ago said, that the most efficient mental training is the thorough and long continued study of some one production of a master mind, and it has become proverbial, that the most irresistible of intellectual gladiators is the man of one book, he that wields but a single weapon. If such be the effect of appropriating, and as it were, assimilating and making connatural with ourselves, the fruits of a fellow creature's mental ef-

forts, what may we not expect from the study and comprehension of that book, which is a revelation, nay, a reflection, of the mind of our Maker? What can withstand a champion, who wields a naked faulchion drawn from the armory of the most High? With our Puritan ancestors, the Bible was the text-book of parental instruction; it was regarded with fond and reverent partiality, as the choicest classic of the school, it was the companion of the closet, the pillow of the lonely wayfarer, the only guide to happiness beyond the tomb. Of all Christian sects, the Puritans were most profoundly versed in the sacred volume; of all men they have best exemplified the spirit of its doctrines; of all religious communities, they have most abundantly enjoyed those blessings, wherewith God has promised to crown his earthly church.[1]

It is to early familiarity with the Bible, to its persevering study, and its daily use, that we must chiefly ascribe the great intellectual power of the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, and the remarkable metaphysical talent of many of their American descendants. Intellectual philosophy, the knowledge of the spiritual in man, is literally, as well as figuratively, a *divine* science. It can be successfully pursued, only where the divine word, undistorted by any gloss of human authority, may be both freely read and openly discussed, and where the relations of man to God and all other divine things are subject to investigation, checked by no fear of legal restraints, the condemnation of councils, or the anathema of the priest. Where the doctrine of overruling human jurisdiction in matters of

[1] Both here and elsewhere in this discourse, I use the word *Puritan*, in its proper and catholic acceptation, as embracing all those sects, which hold, that the Bible is the *only* rule of Christian faith and practice, and reject the authority of tradition in rites, doctrine, and church government.

faith is received, there may be scholastic subtlety indeed, but no metaphysical acuteness or depth. The tone and character of abstract speculation are always influenced by the subjects with which it is conversant, and the mind, which, through fear of trenching on forbidden ground, is forced to exert its busy energies on airy trifles, or questions of impossible solution, will soon become as frivolous, or as incapable of determination, as the puzzles it idly unriddles, or the problems it vainly seeks to resolve. All higher philosophy is essentially religious, and its fearless, yet reverent study, as a science implied, if not revealed in the Scriptures, is

"Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,"

but it is the fittest preparation, both for achieving and appreciating the highest triumphs of human genius, whether in the sublimest flights of poesy, or the glorious creations of plastic and pictorial art.

It has been falsely charged upon Puritanism, that it is hostile to taste, to refinement, and to art; and this because its equal polity, its simple rites and its humble temples, adorned with no pomp of sculptured imagery, no warm creations of the voluptuous pencil, minister not to the ambitious passions of those who serve at the altar, or of those who "only stand and wait," and because it finds the loftiest poetry, the most glowing eloquence, the most terrible sublimity, the tenderest pathos, and the most ravishing beauty, in the visions of the Psalmist and the Prophets, the promises and menaces of the old and new covenant, the life and passion of the Saviour, the gospel delineations of the happiness of the blessed, and prefers such lessons to the vapid and tricksy eloquence of the Fathers, such teachings to the shallow homiletics of certain British theologians, who aim to

unlearn their neophyte how to think, that they may then securely dictate what he shall believe. Nay we are even told that pure Christianity itself is unpropitious to the arts, and that they can attain their most perfect development, only as auxiliaries to idolatry and superstition, as if there were a necessary connection between the false in religion and the true in art. But if it be asked, what human spirit has been most keenly alive to feel, and most abundantly endowed with the creative power to realize, in living and imperishable forms, all that is lovely or terrible in nature, all that is grand or beautiful in art, all that is noble or refined in feeling, all that is glorious in humanity, and all that is sublime in religion, all men unhesitatingly answer, the soul of JOHN MILTON, the Christian and the Puritan. The source whence Milton drew his inspiration was the Sacred Book. Without a thorough familiarity with that volume, such poetry and such prose as that of MILTON can neither be produced, nor comprehended, for the knowledge of the Bible is not merely suggestive of the loftiest conception, but, in awakening the mind to the idea of the infinite, it confers the power of originating as well as of appreciating them.

But I have not yet fully developed the influence of climate upon the character of our fathers. Man is affected by this influence, as well in his social as in his domestic relations. The sparse population of cold climates, obliges their inhabitants to restrict their social enjoyments to a smaller circle, while their relations, at the same time, are extended over a wider space. Social intercourse is at all times difficult, often impossible, and it is valued the more, because it is comparatively rare, and inconvenient of attainment. The solitary cottager, widely separated from even his nearest neighbor, hemmed in by snow-drifts, or imprisoned by floods,

must, on many occasions of trial, dispense with aid, which none is at hand to lend, and be content with no wider sympathies than those of his own household.

He thus contracts a feeling of independence and self-reliance on the dexterity, strength, and fortitude, which have borne him unaided and unscathed through many a peril, and at the same time, when occasion offers, he is all the readier to yield to others the succour, which experience has taught him how hard it is to miss, and to exercise the hospitality, for whose refreshing kindness he has often vainly longed. The same feeling of generous independence is moreover fostered and strengthened by the necessity of waging a perpetual war with a sterile soil and an angry sky. Being always victorious in this strife, if he relax not his efforts, and depending neither upon the caprice nor the unequal justice of man, the hardy husbandman acquires the confidence of certain success, and spurred by the sting of necessity, and cheered by the sure hope, that the patent toil of earing will be rewarded by the joyous labors of harvest, he contracts a fixed habit of untiring industry, and realizes that fine sentiment which Plutarch ascribes to Coriolanus, that it is not for the victor to tire of the battle. And if sometimes, in this unequal combat with the elements, he win but a doubtful triumph, his spirit is not broken, nor are his energies crushed, for he accepts his temporary check as a dispensation of the Providence of God, or the result of some inflexible, but rarely enforced law of nature, and the humility, which flows from the consciousness of his impotence to contend with such influences, detracts no whit from his self-respect as a man, or his independence in his relations with his fellows.

It is obvious, that a character so constituted is peculiarly adapted to the reception of the teachings of the

Reformation, and in fact, with few exceptions, those doctrines were most readily adopted by the tribes most exposed to the influences I have described, and the cognate families, which had not been long enough separated from the parent stem, to lose its predominant traits. In these races, the preachers of the Reformation found prepared hearts. In the thinly peopled regions of the cold and sterile North, where churches and ministers of religion were but sparingly distributed, men had already learned, that no temple is more sacred than the domestic altar, and that under roofs unconsecrated by candle, book or bell, prayer may be acceptably offered, though sanctioned by the presence of no priest decked in the borrowed trappings of old idolatries, and they who were wont to recognize the voice of God, in the dusky terrors of the wintry tempest, the bellowings of the troubled ocean, the avalanche, the torrent, the thunder re-echoing from the flanks of the mountain, required not to be told, that there needs no anointed interpreter between Earth's children and their Heavenly Father.

Such are the constant and abiding influences which act upon our character, and so long as the great features of nature are unchanged, so long as the same mountains and plains and stormy shores shall be exposed to the same fierce extremes of cold and heat, so long will the character of New England be conspicuous for the traits which now distinguish it.

But besides these permanent and unchanging influences, there were temporary but harmonious causes in action, which gave a peculiar, and it may be hoped an indelible, stamp to the mind which we have inherited from our immediate ancestors. We are accustomed to speak of the present, as emphatically an age of excitement, and the last half century has indeed been fruitful

of great events; pregnant with uneasy expectation, that have alternately paralyzed with fear, and intoxicated with hope, the mind of the Christian world. Humanity has taken a long stride. The principles of government have been every where discussed, and its forms here modified, and there totally revolutionized. Dynasties have been overthrown and restored, sometimes under most appalling circumstances of bloodshed, violence and crime, sometimes with scarcely the loss of a life, or even an hour's disturbance of the public peace. War has been waged on a scale of efficiency, compared with which all former military operations are but the games of children. Languages, whose very alphabet had been forgotten a thousand years, have been taught again to speak, and the learning of the Egyptians, like their mummies, has been exhumed from their catacombs. The natural sciences and their practical application to the arts of material life, have made astounding progress. The means of locomotion have been multiplied and improved, even beyond the tardy dreams of our lagging imagination. The Bible, which some would now deny even to your children, has been translated into a hundred barbarous tongues, and the gospel preached to a thousand heathen tribes. The far stretched arm of commercial enterprise has unlocked the treasures of remotest Ind to European cupidity, and even decrepit, immutable, impenetrable China has been opened by the sword's point, her government forced to recognize political relations with the Christian world, and her three hundred millions of human souls, that have slept uncounted centuries, are roused to the stimulating influences of European lessons and European example.

But a moderate knowledge of history will suffice to teach us, that all these influences are tame, in comparison with those which acted on the genius of the six-

teenth century, and the intellectual, and even material action of our own time, except so far as the latter depends upon machinery, is lethargic, when contrasted with the life and energy of that most memorable age.

The art of printing, then just invented, perfected and diffused, was dispelling the mists and obscurity of long ages of Cimmerian darkness, which the tapers, whose feeble rays paled in the effulgence of this rising sun, had vainly striven to penetrate and illumine. While the whole learning and history of the past were thus unfolded, and the ethereal splendor of Grecian genius, and the borrowed lustre of Roman lore, were revealed to the dazzled eye of man, he was startled by strange rumors, that the conquerors of the Spanish Moors had tamed wild ocean, and re-discovered, beyond the illimitable western sea, the long lost realm of old Cathay, and that the celestial Southern Cross, prophetically imagined by the gifted Italian seer,[1] had at length gilded the prow of the Portuguese pilot, whose rival enterprise had passed the flaming bounds, that ancient error raised between the Arctic and Antarctic worlds, weathered the Cape of Storms, and found a new and easy path to spicy Taprobane and golden Ophir.

Man now first knew the bounds of his empire, and was summoned to take solemn possession of that vast patrimony, which the superstition of the times declared to be the rightful heritage of the Catholic Christian, unlawfully withheld from him by Paynim intruders. Every day revealed new discoveries, and inspired new dreams. The East and the West disclosed stores of

[1] "Io mi volsi a man destra, e posi mente
A l' altro polo: e vidi quattro stelle
Non viste mai fuor ch' alla prima gente.
Goder parea 'l ciel di lor fiammelle.
Oh settentrional vedovo sito,
Poi che privato sei di mirar quelle!"
Purgatorio, Canto I.

wealth, surpassing the visions of the wildest avarice, and promised the most splendid prizes to chivalry, errant in a new field, where conquest and rapine were ennobled, if not sanctified, by the enthusiasm of a fanatic zeal for the dissemination of the Christian faith, and the lust of gold was masked even to its votaries, by a show of concern for the souls of those they plundered. The conquerors oppressed, robbed, murdered, not helpless and timid savages, but malignant infidels, and it was but a lawful spoiling of the Egyptians, if they appropriated to themselves their jewels of gold and their ingots of silver.

The gigantic atrocities of Cortes, and the yet more miraculous and equally criminal exploits of the terrible Albuquerque, were therefore not merely excused, but regarded with reverent admiration, as true expressions of the spirit of Christian chivalry. Noble and generous men might, without impeachment of sordid avarice or wanton cruelty, engage in these far off expeditions of predatory discovery, and a new channel was opened for the spirit of heroic enterprise, which had previously found in feudal war its sole dark "path to power and praise."

The invention of gunpowder, though older perhaps by centuries, had hitherto scarcely affected the character of European warfare. But the huge and unwieldy bombard had now given place to the culverin and saker, and the matchlock, pregnant, perhaps, with the fate of a king, gleamed from even the humblest shoulder. The roar of the cannon drowned the inspiriting clang of the buckler, and impenetrable smoke obscured the display of personal prowess. The soldier could no longer rely on his physical strength, his undismayed courage, his painfully earned dexterity in the management of his horse and his weapons, for safety or renown. Till now, the

knight, secure in his iron fortress, could be vanquished only by a "foeman worthy of his steel"; but no skill in fence could parry the invisible bullet, that, speeding on the very wings of death, pierced the stout corselet, from which the quarrel rebounded. Gunpowder had brought Orlando to the level of the meanest varlet, and a Bayard or a Sidney might fall by the random shot of a craven boor. Soldiers began to act in masses, and in blind obedience to the will of their leader, they moved through clouds of sulphurous smoke, they knew not why or whither. Those humble qualities, unquestioning obedience and passive courage, which now became the first of military virtues, were distasteful to the proud independence of the belted knight, and the undistinguishing equality to which fire-arms reduce the bravest and the weakest, the hero and the poltroon, was a fatal blow to the military pride of feudal chivalry. With chivalric warfare ceased also the martial and courtly sports which were its school, and the youthful and gallant knight could no longer prove before the admiring eyes of his mistress, in mimic war, how well he merited the golden spurs which he had won in the melée of mortal combat. These changes, the chivalrous spirit of the soldier of fortune, and the individuality of thought, feeling, and action, which was eminently characteristic of that age, could not brook, and he who sought to rise by merit, being driven to carve out a new path for his own advancement, rejoiced to find, in discovery, conquest, and colonization, a new and inviting field, wide enough to exhaust his utmost energies, invested with the sublime romance of distant adventure and unknown dangers, and bright with the promise of the most shining rewards.

During this period, too, the Ottoman power was at its height. The galleys of the Infidel were rowed by

Christian slaves, and the clang of the Turkish cymbal disturbed the dreams of the Western princes. Christianity itself was threatened with extinction, and the boldest feared the issue of the doubtful struggle between the Moslem and the Giaour. The colossal power of half-civilized Russia had not yet interposed its impassable barrier against the incursions of the barbarian, and even after the Atlantic shores of our own continent were fringed with colonies exulting in the security of Christian freedom, the Pope still trembled in the Vatican, lest the Imaum of St. Sophia should expel the monk from St. Peter's, and the prayers of Islam be chaunted where mass was sung. All Europe rang with the

"rumors loud that daunt remotest kings,"

and Stahremberg could have held out but one day longer, when John Sobieski came to the relief of the fainting city, and taught, by one final lesson, what men now scarcely dared to hope, that the Mussulman was not to give law to the Christian, and that the crescent was not foredoomed to shine upon the prostrate cross.

But I pass over other exciting and agitating influences, to refer to one above and beyond them all,—an event so singularly in accordance with the genius of that age, and so intimately connected with it by relations of action and reaction, that one is at a loss to know, whether it partakes more of the character of cause or effect. I mean the glorious Reformation, which set free from moral and intellectual slavery a world that had groaned in bondage for a thousand years. The Reformation gave permanence and consistence to impressions and impulses which might otherwise have been as fleeting as the causes which produced them, and the continued prevalence and more full de-

velopment of its doctrines must be considered as the principal cause why the spirit of progress, which distinguished the sixteenth century, is at this hour the greatest blessing and the most obvious characteristic of those nations, where its principles are most clearly apprehended and most cordially adopted.

Great Britain, from her isolated position, was later in feeling the various influences to which I have alluded, than many continental countries, and they came to her more or less modified by time, distance, and other circumstances. Partially conflicting as they were with each other, they yet tended to the same common result, and finally harmonized and blended into a general impulse, closely coincident with the better features of the hereditary type of old English character. The maximum of their effect upon the British people was not reached until the reign of Elizabeth. The sun of England's glory, the dawn of her true golden age, then rose in splendor, and after a course of a hundred years, dimmed only by royal wrongs, it set in shame, with the rise of the baleful evening star, that heralded the elevation of the vilest of British kings. Spenser sung the matins of that centurial day, and Milton,

> "In darkness, and with dangers compassed round,"

chaunted the even-song of the dying swan. The British nation was then not the accomplice of its rulers. It had no part in the murder of Elizabeth's royal guest, no share in the malignant follies of the crazy James, or the crimes of the accursed triumvirate, Strafford, Laud and Stuart. By one single noblest act, it disowned and avenged them all,

> "Upon the neck of crowned Fortune proud
> Did rear God's trophies,"

and having, by a great example, shown, that the people possess not the physical power only, but the rightful authority, to depose and solemnly judge their rulers, it established the principle, that it is a crime in a Christian nation to be oppressed.

Under such impulses as I have described, the Gothic mind attained its most perfect development, in the character of the great sect to which the Pilgrims belonged, and partook of all the holy, purifying, and ennobling influences of the time. Happily for their posterity and and our forefathers were "harried out of the land," beprevailed,—majesty executed its magnanimous threat, and our forefathers were "harried out of the land," before that character had become enervated, or its lofty energies spent, and they brought with them the moral virtues of the rigid Puritan, combined with the intellectual elevation of unfettered Christian philosophy, and the chivalrous heroism of bannered knighthood.

Of the concurrent influences which contributed to form the English character of that era, the Reformation was indisputably the most important, and it is therefore essential to my purpose briefly to examine the true character of that great event. Its great characterisic was individuality of thought and action, its great principle, the right and duty of private judgement, its great immediate work, the overthrow of that idol phantom, which "the likeness of a kingly crown had on,"—the refutation of the claims of the visible church to reverence, as itself a continuing revelation, or rather a divine agency, possessed of a qualified personality, a species of incarnation of the Deity, and a fit and lawful object of worship.

It is this characteristic of individual action, which so strikingly distinguishes the Reformation from all other great religious movements. In the first promul-

gation of the Christian religion, mere humanity was passive. God spake, and man had but to hear and obey. None of the fundamental truths of Christianity originated in the intellect of man, but the oracle being pronounced, it was committed to universal human reason to expound it, and this *fact*, before unknown or long forgotten, is the great discovery of the Reformers. Fifteen centuries thus elapsed, before the true key was applied to the interpretation of the plainest of dispensations, and thenceforth human intellect was free to pursue its highest study, the relations between man and his maker.

I cannot here pause to develop in detail the spirit of the Reformation, or to point out the incalculable importance of its results to the moral and intellectual being of man, but I must not omit to notice two great doctrines, equally inseparable from the principle of the right and duty of private judgement. The one is the theological dogma of the sufficiency of the scriptures, as a rule of faith and practice, and the other is the political theory of the natural equality of all men; equality in *kind*, though, by reason of diversity of gifts, not in *degree*, of rights and duties. The doctrine of the sufficiency of the pure word of God had indeed been preached at an earlier day, but it was brought into distinct prominence, by the sect which thence took the name of Puritans, and its adoption at once relieved Christianity from the burden of arbitrary forms, which, incapable of the expression of abstract principle, do at best but symbolize truth, with doubtful obscurity, and from those frivolous superstitions, and remnants of material worship, which, in many nominally Christian countries, make the intelligent infidels, and the ignorant idolaters. The theory of natural equality is the true foundation of the doctrine of self-government, which is

indeed its necessary corollary, and thus our civil as well as our religious liberties are mainly due to the Reformation.

That these doctrines were not always clearly stated, or even distinctly apprehended, by every father of the Reformed church is no doubt true, but they are logical deductions from their principles, and were obviously felt, and more or less definitely recognized by all of them.

I may be pardoned, if I here pause to notice and rebuke that shallow philosophy, which judges sects or parties, by the single acts or declarations of individuals, whose errors are often the fault of the age, or the temperament of the man, or the mere excess of reaction, rather than by their fundamental principles, which, lying at the base of the system, must in the end make themselves felt and acknowledged, and thenceforth characterize the action of their adherents. Individual instances of fanaticism or ecclesiastical tyranny in the Reformers or the Puritans, therefore, have no tendency to convict their system of error, while the intolerance and bigotry of their opponents are the necessary consequence of the exclusive principles they maintain. The apparent results of the promulgation of great truths are often for a time equivocal, and even paradoxical. The weight at the end of a cord passing over a pulley follows the hand that draws it, though moving in a contrary direction. The true results are slowly developed, and it is sometimes a full century between seed time and harvest. A principle never produces its legitimate fruits, until it is precisely and distinctly enunciated, and men often act in partial accordance with truth, from some dim and half unconscious apprehension of its spirit, long before any master mind has clearly developed and proclaimed it.

If, then, the character of the Puritanical system, as fairly deducible from *a priori* examination of its abstract principles, be compared with its actual tendencies, as developed in practice, it will be found that experience has most amply confirmed the promises of its theory. No where has there been more of liberty and less of license, no where more of public charity and less of private ostentation, no where more of Christian influence and less of priestly usurpation, no where more of Heaven's best blessings and fewer of its judgements, than in Puritanical New England.

Nor, on the other hand, are we authorized to conclude, that those uncharitable and exclusive systems, which have taken root among us, are harmless in their tendencies, because they have not yet here produced the mischiefs which have flowed from them in European countries, and which seem to be involved in their very principles. Here, they are held in check, and modified in their action, by the want of numerical force, the influence of free institutions, the separation of church and state, the fundamental law of the land. But he who would know their real character, as developed in their action, must study their workings in times and countries, where they have been least obstructed. Intolerance is of the essence of every exclusive system, and he that holds to the necessity of conformity will assuredly enforce it, whenever he feels that he can safely exercise the power.

It is, as I have already hinted, a great error to suppose that the Reformation was but a change of religion. It was equally a reformation in the state, and implied an universal political revolution. The doctrines to which I have alluded came to be considered as equally truths of Christianity and of civil polity. They necessarily laid the axe at the root of aristocracy in the state

as well as in the church. The priesthood, which had stolen the insignia, and profanely arrogated the office, of both Jewish and Pagan hierarchy, having been found to be an usurper, lawfully claiming its great privileges neither by grant nor succession, it was natural that men should inquire by what title the baron held his prerogatives, and the consequence was, that both lay and ecclesiastical lords were stripped of their dignities, or restricted in their assumed privileges, in every commonwealth, which adopted the reformed religion, and the Reformation thus took the first step towards the practical abolition of abuses, that Revelation had abrogated, fifteen hundred years before.

By one of those strange practical paradoxes, of which history furnishes so many examples, the boasted champions of the largest liberty, and the narrowest oppugners of the right of private judgment, are now exemplifying the tendency of extremes to meet, by uniting in a jarring alliance, and warring with common hate, but incongruous zeal, against the principles of the Reformation. The former teach that the mental slavery of the dark ages is strictly compatible with the most unbounded freedom of personal action, and the latter, that this same moral and intellectual bondage is the only means of suppressing or controlling the destructive and anarchical tendencies which they justly ascribe to their allies in this unholy cause. The conservative and destructive parties then begin alike. Both aim to overthrow all that is good and venerable in our civil and ecclesiastical polity, and while the one proposes to erect, on the ruins of our present scheme of rational liberty restrained by law, a new wonder-working system, wherein each shall enjoy unlimited personal license, miraculously combined with supreme control over the action of his neighbor, the other uses ultra democracy

as a bugbear to frighten, and pretended conservatism as a lure to persuade, us into apostacy from our hereditary principles, and an unqualified surrender of our reason into the hands of those who claim a divine right to overrule it. It requires not the eye of a prophet to discern the ultimate common tendency of these discordant teachings, and no man versed in history can doubt, that the triumph of either party would alike involve the final destruction of every valuable feature of American society. Religious conservatism asks us to admit, that the Almighty has abdicated the reins of his moral and spiritual government, and that princes and prelates are the rightful successors to the vacant throne. Progress, arriving at the same result by a different route, brings us to that anarchy of the multitude, which is the sure precursor of the capricious tyranny of the despot, and the unrelenting rule of the priest.

It will not be amiss to cast a glance at the obscure and distant past, and to inquire what we have to gain by abandoning the venerable institutions of our fathers, and restoring the dark and mouldering fabric, that Heaven's own vengeful lightning long since overthrew.

The vaunted period, whose characteristic traits you are asked to revive, extends from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, from Hildebrand to Luther. This was the boasted age of chivalry, the golden era of Catholic Christianity, when the temporal supremacy of the church was almost universally acknowledged; kings submitted to flagellation at the hands of a monk, and emperors held the stirrup of the Roman pontiff. This is the age in which it has been made our reproach, that America has no part, the age to which the romancer and the novelist refer us for all the graces that adorn humanity; the historian, for the highest examples of civil and political excellence; the Romanist, for the most per-

fect form of Christian life. But what was the real condition of Europe during these five centuries of refinement, loyalty, heroism and Christian devotion? It is a matter of some difficulty to penetrate the thick obscurity that shrouds the popular history of times, whose only chroniclers were the haughty noble and the unsympathizing monk; but even from these unwilling witnesses enough can be extracted to prove that humanity has, at no time, and in no land, groaned under heavier burdens than those imposed on its suffering shoulders by the priesthood and the barons of Christian Europe in the middle ages. The critical student of mediæval history beholds a scene, to use those awful words of Milton,

"With dreadful faces thronged, and fiery arms,"

and the lurid light that glares from the pile of the martyr, and the incendiary flames of feudal warfare, suffices to show, that behind the glittering curtain of knightly and baronial life, there lay and writhed a world of woe.. The rights of man, as man, found no advocate, the rights of conscience, no defender. It was not yet discovered, that the ruler, the law-maker, is bound by the law he promulgates, and law itself was known, not as the dictate of reason aiming at the common good, but as another name for organized oppression or arbitrary will. Municipal law indeed, except in cities and boroughs, which had *bought* their liberties, existed only as a measure, not of common rights, but of privilege, in derogation of right, and there was no controlling authority, but the canons of the church and the will of the stronger. Society was a pandemonium, where every unholy passion revelled without restraint, and the rights of the ruler knew no limit, but that of his power to enforce them. The vassals of every feu-

dal lord, whether lay or ecclesiastical, were bound to till his fields, to minister the means of gratifying every passion and supplying every want, to adopt his quarrels, to follow him in his wars of glory, conquest or revenge, to live in his service, to die in his cause. If he fell into the power of his enemy, they furnished forth the ransom, if he married a daughter, they provided the dowry, if he made his son a knight, they defrayed the expenses of the equipage, the feast and the tournament. If he desired to strengthen his castle, or enlarge his dungeons, they labored, unpaid, to build the fortress, which was designed to awe them into unresisting submission, and the prisons in which they were doomed to pine, if they incurred his lordly displeasure. The grave, even, was an occasion of new exactions by the allied vultures of church and state, and when death released the hunted victim from the grasp of his oppressors, the priest who had shrived the dying sinner, lingered to choose from the little herd the fattest beast, while the bailiff was ransacking the house of mourning, to select for his lord the choicest treasure as their lawful perquisites of mortuary and heriot.

Such were the universally conceded rights of the lord, such the undisputed duties of the vassal. But these were not all, these were not even the worst oppressions. Beyond all these, the Christian baron claimed and exercised rights that we cannot name, and from the assertion of which, even the Mogul or the Turk would recoil; and, if not satisfied with the enjoyment of all these oppressive privileges, he chose to resort to force, to extort what he could not lawfully exact, yet the law, which nominally restrained him, provided no sanction against its own violation, and the wronged and injured vassal was utterly without redress. These outrages were sanctioned and aggravated by an every where

present, overawing, unreasoning, unsympathizing influence, which strengthened the arm of the civil power by all the terrors of eternal perdition, and sought to force Heaven itself into a league with the oppressor. Thus the constitution of the state not only allowed, but even invited, those awful oppressions, and the sword and the crozier combined to put down every attempt of the populace, to recover those rights, without which man is no longer human. Resistance indeed was sometimes attempted by the humbler classes, but the superior skill and discipline of the nobles, aided by the anathemas of the church, which mingled its thunders with the shout of "the riders that trampled them down," never failed to triumph over the ignorant, ill-trained and slavish peasantry, and European historians still treat these spasms of agonized humanity, these writhings of the worm that is trodden upon, as treasonable insurrections, instigated by the hope of plunder and rapine, and aggravated by every crime that disgraces humanity.

In all these struggles, we scarcely find a single ecclesiastic arrayed upon the side of mercy, scarcely a single tonsured advocate of the rights of man. But I should do injustice, were I here to omit to notice the heroic John Ball, honor to his name! who purchased a lasting renown, by daring to prefer the cause of humanity to the interests of his order. Thrice was this "folysshe preest," as the old chronicler calls him, incarcerated, not in the royal dungeons as a rebel, but in the "Bysshop of Canterburie's prison" as an ecclesiastical offender, for the crime of preaching the Christian doctrine of equality. But neither chains, nor the fear of death, were able to quell his generous spirit, and he persevered in his noble, but unavailing efforts, until he sealed his testimony with his blood.[1]

[1] Froissart (Lord Berners' translation), Vol. I. cap. 381.

Nor is it true, that these ages were remarkable for the exercise of Christian benevolence. The artifices of the clergy, indeed, extorted large sums for the erection of hospices for the pilgrims to the numerous shrines of idolatrous superstition, and the religious houses dealt out a meagre dole to the starving poor, whom their own exactions had contributed to impoverish, but it may well be doubted, whether the aggregate charities of Catholic Europe ever exceeded the legal provision, which we are compelled to make for the outcast mendicants and malefactors, whom the generous munificence of Europe ejects upon our shores, to mend our morals and reform our religion, because it finds it cheaper to transport them hither, than to maintain them in almshouses and prisons at home.

The period we are considering was not distinguished alone by unrelenting tyranny and brutal oppression. It was indeed emphatically an era of spiritual and intellectual darkness. No ray from the few and distant lights, that twinkled through the gloom, e'er fell upon the groping multitude, from whom they were as far removed as the telescopic stars from earth's orbit. The great and good minds, which to our sharpened vision shine conspicuous through the murky night, were but suns in eclipse to their contemporaries. They wrote and spoke for each other, and it was no part of their vocation to dispel the darkness, that enveloped the erring wanderers beneath them. So, in the material heavens, resounding orb responds to orb, but mortal ears are deaf to the music of their harmony; resplendent sphere enlightens sphere, but they illuminate not the chaotic void, through which they wheel their appointed courses, and the pathway of the most radiant star retains no vestige of the beams it sheds.

Superficial speculators affect to treat the prevailing

opinions, in regard to the debased condition of society in the middle ages, as a vulgar prejudice, and ask us to judge the spirit of those times, not by the general character and fundamental principles of their institutions, or their actual influence on the physical and moral well being of man, but by the lives and opinions of the few enlightened men, who were distinguished rather by their relative superiority to the contemporary standard of their age, than by their intrinsic excellence. But here the error lies in a supposed analogy between those times and our own. There is in our day, a class of the factitious great, who follow, rather than lead, public opinion, and whose whole wisdom consists in an instinctive sagacity, that enables them to predict and anticipate the changes of that shifting current, and thus to appear to guide its movements, when in fact they are but the first to yield to its impulse. The lives of such are indeed a sure index to the temper of times and countries, where public opinion has any substantive existence. But in the ages of which we speak, there was no recognized public, no common reason, in short, no community. As the French monarch said of himself, the ruler was the state, and the priest was the church.

The learned of the middle ages had no sympathies, no common language, no common interests with the mass of their contemporaries, and in general exerted no influence over their own age, unless it were by the mere superiority of intellect over brute force. But man can beneficially influence man, only through the medium of sympathetic relations, and when this golden chain is severed, the teacher becomes a tyrant, and the pupil a slave.

From all these horrors, the Reformation was the one indispensable, and only sufficient means of deliverance, as its principles are still our only safeguard. It is yet

too soon to assume, that its results are fully developed, but its fundamental grounds seem to involve all that is necessary for the erection of a harmonious but independent system of civil and ecclesiastical polity, which shall be as perfect as human nature will admit.

The free development of its principles has received a check, from the re-action which followed the overthrow of Napoleon, and one can hardly cast a glance at the recent history of the human mind in Europe, and especially in that country, which common consent places at the head of the European political system, without doubting whether society be not in fact retrograding, instead of advancing. Observe the exclusive devotion of British intellect to schemes of mechanical and material improvement, the humble character, with few exceptions, of her philosophical writers, the shallow tone of her æsthetical criticism, the universal idolatry of rank and wealth, the suffering and brutified condition of the masses; consider that the doctors of her religion are reviving old and effete superstitions, closing their eyes to the beams of the noon-day sun, and groping in the darkness of the middle ages for spiritual light, and you can scarcely resist the conclusion, that, to use the quaint words of that apocryphal fragment ascribed to Sir Thomas Browne, "she is grown oblivious and doteth. Her ancient civility is gone, and her face become wrinkled and tetrick." Wordsworth seems to have deeply felt all this, when, in that noble sonnet, he invoked the spirit of the mighty Puritan, whose "soul was like a star, and dwelt apart," in words too harsh for me to quote, too true, perhaps, for him *now* to dare to utter.[1]

[1] "Milton! thou shouldst be living at this hour:
England hath need of thee; she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword, and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,

The "dishonest victory" of Waterloo, necessary, perhaps, for the rescue of Europe from the temporary iron rule of a military despotism, came full ten years too soon, and unhappily arrested, before his task was done, that great usurper, who, himself a despot and a tyrant, was unconsciously working out his high vocation of preparing men for the acquisition and enjoyment of rational freedom, by battering down old and mischief-working institutions, practically refuting hoary falsehoods, and dispelling the mists of antiquated prejudice. The principal aim of those, who have administered the governments of Europe since the downfall of Napoleon, seems to have been to carry back the shadow on the dial, to re-construct the shattered walls, and replace the rotten frame-work which he had demolished. Restitution, not reparation, has been their motto, and the clergy of those countries, which have a religion of state, considering themselves official members of the body politic, have emulated and outstripped their superiors in this bad work of re-edification, and not content with simple restoration, are seeking, with more or less of openness, to re-build not only what Napoleon, but even what Luther overthrew.

Even with us, too, the evil leaven is at work. The reaction, which, as some tokens hopefully indicate, is well nigh spent at its source, has at length extended hither, and a retrograde spirit is spreading among us, unhappily unaccompanied by the corrective, which, in

> Have forfeited their ancient English dower
> Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;
> Oh! raise us up, return to us again:
> And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.
> Thy soul was like a Star, and dwelt apart;
> Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea:
> Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free.
> So didst thou travel on life's common way,
> In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
> The lowliest duties on herself did lay."

Europe, deprives it of half its power of mischief. I mean that intense nationality, which now pervades every European people, from the bare North Cape to the southernmost headland of smiling Greece. The national pride of the phlegmatic Northman, the ardent son of the fervid South, the philosophic German, the mercurial Frenchman, and the semi-oriental Sclavonian, has been roused, and each is striving, with enlightened and hourly increasing zeal, to restore the vernacular tongue of his native land to its ancient purity, and to excite contemporary emulation by bringing into the light the history of its earlier ages, and thus to awaken that love of country, which the cosmopolite theories of French philosophy were threatening with general extinction, while the progress of French arms seemed to portend for Paris a supremacy like that of Rome, when even the Greek gloried in being a native of a city, to whose children the privileges of Roman citizenship had been vouchsafed.

Knowing that neither can there be private virtue without a generous patriotism, wise men every where foster this spirit, and teach that even the hardy energies of the early stages of semi-barbarous society are not to be despised as void of instruction. In them, we see the germs of more expanded and cultivated virtues. They deposited in the earth the pabulum of better fruits, even as by the generous economy of material nature, wild and spontaneous vegetation feeds, not exhausts, the fruitfulness of the soil, and by alternate growth and decay, elaborates from earth, water, air, and lays up in store for future ages, the materials of fertility for plants of nobler growth.

The love of country, with all the reverential sympathies it implies, is among the strongest impulses in every rightly constituted mind, and next to self-respect, is the

most important ingredient in the character of a virtuous man. The mental eye, unlike the natural, magnifies objects as they recede, and every true man cherishes for his ancestry an affectionate partiality, that leads him to see in them the virtues of the golden, combined with the wisdom of the iron age. It is in this feeling, that we find the root of true conservatism, and every movement, whether retrograde or progressive, which wars with this sacred impulse, is not unwise merely, but unnatural, unchristian, criminal.

It is to the want of an intelligent national pride—the universal solvent, which melts and combines into a harmonious whole the otherwise discordant traits of individual and local feeling—that we must ascribe the non-existence of a well-defined and consistent American character. We have abundance of inflated complacency in the present, abundance of boastful expectation in respect to the future, but too little of sympathetic and reverent regard for a glorious past, without which, neither this present nor that future had been possible.

This is partly the effect of a diversity of origin, local interests and political relations, under a federative system, but its real source lies deeper, and its root may be found in one of our proudest characteristics. It is proper to all free people, and eminently to that family of nations to which we belong, to love abstract truth beyond material symbols, to follow the spirit, instead of adhering to the form, and to bow to the principle, rather than to worship its visible manifestation. But honorable and noble as this propensity is, it is not without its dangers. In seeking for abstract truth, we are prone to overlook the conditions which limit its practical application, and to forget, that in the moral and the political, as well as the physical world, the deductions of science can never be strictly realized in practice. Nor

is this the only, or even the greatest danger, to which the trait in question exposes us. Doctrines tied to no forms, connected with no localities, relying upon no authority but individual reason, attaching no sacredness to aught cognizable by the senses, are more easily overthrown, than when they assume the shape of belief, entrenched behind the bulwarks of form, prejudice and opinion. In Europe, where every rock has its name, every landscape its history, the love of country and its institutions, is at once strengthened by thousands of venerable associations, and narrowed to the humble shape rather of attachment to localities, than of enlightened and expanded patriotism. But with us, who have no dim traditions, no hoary fables, to give, not individuality only, but almost life, to plain and mountain, and rock and river, patriotism, though a larger, nobler, and more intellectual sentiment, is yet a less tenacious impulse. It is, therefore, a duty most solemnly incumbent upon every man, who prizes institutions dependent like ours upon no other security than a sound public opinion, and who feels himself competent to appreciate the grounds upon which they are built, to exert that "one talent which is death to hide," in maintaining, defending and popularizing their principles. Our American liberties are menaced, not by apathy and ignorance alone, but we have too many proofs of the existence, even among ourselves, of a determined hostility to the cardinal principles on which they rest. Nor let any deny the approach of danger, because as yet he hears not the din, and sees not the smoke of the encounter. The earthquake, which upheaves mountains, and the tempest, that scatters an armada, are invisible forces, but there are tokens whereby wise men foresee the shock. Such indications of danger to our dearest interests we may find among a class of our own citi-

zens, who glory in a truckling submission to European teachings, in an unnatural alienation from all that is great and good and reverend in our own history, in a dignified affectation of supercilious contempt for every manifestation of conscious American pride, in a wrong headed perversity, that loves to dwell on the dark side of our national character, clothes in the livery of anxious fear the wishes of an alien heart, and feigns to tremble for the stability of those institutions which it is doing its utmost to undermine. We have too much of that blind zeal of the pupil, which outruns the precepts of its foreign teachers, too much of that questionable Protestantism, that trembles with sympathetic fear when you attack the corruptions of Popery, too much of that craven and traitorous spirit, that is ashamed of its birthplace, murmurs against the Providence which appointed its fatherland, and grieves, because it is only through the Pilgrims, that it can trace its lineage to their titled and mitred oppressors. Nay, more than this; sons of New England have dared to insult the memory, and blaspheme the God, of their fathers, by denying to that congregation, which He gathered in the wilderness, the name and attributes of a Christian Church.

It may indeed be doubted, whether it be possible now to construct a harmonious type of national American character out of the discordant materials which have been assembled, and which an unwise and short-sighted policy suffers to be kept in perpetual fermentation, by the infusion, not of new ingredients only, but of hostile elements. A nation, like an organic being, must grow, not by accretion, but by development, and should receive into its system nothing incapable of assimilation. But from this and many other influences pernicious to the symmetry of our national character, New

England is, happily, in a great measure, exempt. I arrogate not for her a monopoly of all the excellences of American genius, nor do I insist that she is the sole depositary of the vital principles of American life, but her population is homogeneous in its origin, her component parts harmonious in their organization, and she possesses the unity of character that belongs to a people, which owes its aggregate existence to one great end—the noblest end that can inspire social man—the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Are then this character, and the institutions to which it has given birth, worth preserving? This is the great question, which New England and her sons are called upon now to answer, once and forever. For if our individuality is lost, our hereditary principles abandoned for a single hour, there is no recuperative energy, by which we can re-assume the vitality we have suicidally surrendered. The alchemists professed to be able to consume the flower, and raise it again out of its ashes. But it was at best a shadowy resurrection, and the visible image had neither fragrancy, color, nor life. A nation has but a single life, and the people that perishes, because it is recreant to itself, can hope for no palingenesia.

We are then summoned by every consideration of present interest, of enlightened patriotism, of decent respect for the memory of our fathers, of reverence for the religion of our God, to do our utmost to keep alive the sacred fire, and to transmit inviolate and unimpaired to future ages the heirloom which it is a crime to alienate. To our Pergamus a palladium is committed. To New England our common country must look, as the purest source and surest repertory of those true conservative principles in church and state, without which, both church and state will soon become no blessing, but a curse.

The greatest of living poets has told us, that the language of freedom has two principal dialects.

> "Two Voices are there; one is of the sea,
> One of the mountains: each a mighty Voice:
> In both from age to age thou didst rejoice,
> They were thy chosen music, Liberty!"

These voices are emphatically the nursery hymns of our ancient mother. The infant ear of all her sons is tuned to the

> "roar
> Of ocean on a wintry shore,"

or the howlings of the storm, whose wings are heavy with frozen mists from the cavernous recesses of her rugged mountains. No alien soil intercepts our morning dawn. The earliest beams of the orient sun, emerging from ocean's bed, are shed full upon our old metropolis, and his waning rays long linger on the soaring peaks of our everlasting hills—fit emblem of the light of Christian freedom, which first illuminated our own "gray fathers," and shall latest gild the graves of the Pilgrims, the cradles of their children.

THE SPIRIT OF THE DAY AND ITS LESSONS

CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM

1846

CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM

(1802-1875.)

Though a native of New Brunswick, the Rev. Charles Wentworth Upham was of New England parentage. He came early in life to Boston, and was for twenty years Congregational pastor in Salem. Later he became successively member of the Massachusetts House, President of the State Senate, and, for one term, member of Congress. He was for a time editor of the "Unitarian Church Review," and among his published writings are several biographies and an important study of the Salem witchcraft.

ORATION

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the New England Society in the City of New York.

THE topics that claim our consideration, on this anniversary, are so obvious, and so inseparable from the occasion and from the sentiments awakened by it, and those sentiments are so uniform in all hearts, that no ingenious and elaborate exordium is needed to bring your minds into an appropriate frame. The field over which our meditations are led, this day, is not at a remote point from our spontaneous and involuntary associations, to be reached only by long-drawn approaches, but opens at once upon the vision.

On the 22d of December, in the year 1620, a company of Englishmen landed on the shore of what has since been the township of Plymouth, in the present State of Massachusetts. This circumstance has long been regarded with a just and felicitous discrimination, as the opening scene in the drama of civilized humanity in the New World.

Voyagers had often before, we know not from how early a period, visited the coasts of America. Scientific philologists, and philosophical students of manners, customs, and other memorials, have imagined themselves to have traced, more or less clearly, evidence of transmigrations from the older continents to this, in the

ages of a remote antiquity. European settlements, many of which quickly disappeared, but, in some instances, giving rise to permanent and populous Provinces and States, were commenced at dates anterior to the landing of the Pilgrims, on the day we commemorate.

But the attending and resulting circumstances of that event are so peculiar in their character, so momentous in their bearings, and so wide-spread in their influence, that, by general consent, the opening of the continent of America to the civilization of Christendom, is everywhere getting to be considered as dating from the hour when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. It may safely be taken for granted, that, whatever particular interest different localities may feel in contemplating the origin of their own communities, whether before or after the 22d of December, 1620, all will acquiesce and conspire in regarding the Rock of Plymouth as the point from which the ever-advancing and ever-expanding wave of Anglo-Saxon liberty and light began to flow over America. Taking this comprehensive view of the subject, presenting the occasion as the best example, and highest instance of the various settlements by Europeans and Christians, on the American continent, we may rely upon the sympathy of those of our fellow-citizens of a different colonial origin from ourselves, who may honor us with their presence, in the sentiments and associations to which we yield our own minds and hearts. While, as the descendants of New England men, with filial and grateful reverence, we pay honor to their memory, it is my purpose, so far as the privilege and ability are given me to determine the spirit of the day, that the contemplation of your ancestral glories shall convey to your hearts lessons which may be profitably pondered by all Americans, in whatever portion of the Re-

public they may have their abode, and from whatever sources they have sprung.

Before taking up the topics suggested by any more limited view of the subject, I wish to concentrate attention upon the event we commemorate in the light I have suggested, as, by way of eminence, marking the era of the contact and intercommunication of the two hemispheres of our globe. Let us pause, at the outset, and open our minds to receive and appreciate the interest and grandeur of the thought. From the beginning of time, the great oceans had been impassable walls, keeping the opposite sides of our planet in distant and complete separation. A mysterious, but all-wise, Providence held them apart. For thousands of years, the earth, as it revolved on its axis, had presented to the sun and the stars the vast double continent of America, shrouded in moral and intellectual darkness. Extending from pole almost to pole, it embraced, in its geographical features, all the forms of sublimity and beauty of scenery, and every advantage which can flow from the arrangement of land and water, rivers and lakes, mountains and meadows; and in the several departments of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, an unrivalled richness of material and magnificence of display. Its surface, for the most part, remained under the deep shadows of primeval forests, and was traversed by roaming tribes of benighted savages. It is true that, on some parts of the continent, there are vestiges of a peculiar and inexplicable form of barbaric splendor, in vast and shapeless mounds of earth, and structures of masonry and statuary; but there is no indication whatever of the existence and action at any time or to any extent, on any part of its entire length and breadth, of an element of moral, social and political progress.

The character of the aboriginal American cannot fail

to be a subject of interest in all coming times. It exhibited many of the traits and faculties of human nature in an extraordinary development of dignity and strength. Fortitude and manly endurance, heroism and patriotism, will ever find their brightest exemplars in warrior chiefs whose spheres of glory were the wild scenes and gloomy recesses of American forests. But the traditions that relate their story can scarcely be made to take their place among the records of real and authenticated events. They pass before the mind like shadowy visions of the imagination. We read them as we do the pages of an Epic. The mysterious destiny of extinction, which is taking effect upon the race, pressing it off from the surface of the earth, seems to apply to its history also, which is crowded out from its proper department, exhaled as it were into ideal forms, and transferred to the sphere of fancy and romance. The reason of this is obvious. Their origin and progress are buried in utter oblivion. We behold them, as they appeared but for a moment, as in a dream, and then vanished away. They have told us no story of their earlier fortunes, and they have left no traces of their existence or influence upon the condition of mankind. In that highest sense of history, in which it is to be regarded as the narrative of the continuous progress of humanity, as the memorial of stages of advancement, one leading on to another, by the law of cause and effect, in the moral world, no space is occupied by the American tribes; and it is the same, in the comprehensive view I am now taking, of the connection of the career of the human race with the two grand divisions of the earth, as if the foot of man had never trodden the soil of America until the Europeans colonized it.

But while silence and darkness thus brooded over the western hemisphere for more than fifty centuries, the

eastern was the theatre of a series of movements and vicissitudes, constituting the substance of ancient history, by which Providence was enunciating to mankind the successive primary lessons of its education, and preparing it to enter upon the career of moral and social advancement designed for it by nature, and which, imperceptible in its early stages, has become a visibly rapid progress in our day, but must be seen in results far higher than have yet been reached, before this earth can reflect in undimmed lustre the glory of Him who created it for the abode of man, and placed him upon it to cultivate and adorn its surface, develope its infinite riches, and bring out, into the highest enjoyment and the brightest light, all the capacities and beauties of its occupants and objects.

Before we bring the Old World to the period of contact with the New, let us pass, in brief and comprehensive enumeration, the grand events, which rise like Alpine summits along the outline of its history, and mark the gradual adaptation of mankind for the new and more quickening influences which sprung into action when America was introduced within the circle of the civilization of Christendom.

The great empires, which had first passed over the field of vision of inspired prophets, followed each other on the stage of historic reality. The successive and slowly advancing preliminary steps, by which a revelation of divine truth sufficient to satisfy the wants, and able to elevate and purify to the highest degree the nature, of the soul of man, was to be ushered in, one by one, took place. The lust of empire, calling to its aid the passions of humanity in ages of violence and ignorance, had swept vast armies over the face of nations, and, under an overruling Hand, had stirred, and impelled, and guided the currents of power and thought.

At length, through the agency, direct and remote, of these, and all the subsidiary events and influences in their train, the energies of intellect had become sufficiently exercised to give rise to systems of philosophy, and processes of mental culture and reflection, and thus to provide a foundation for the reception of a spiritual theology, and the elements of a true and absolute morality depending upon, and embraced within it.

While such influences had been at work over the Gentile world, how wonderful were the arrangements by which a suitable centre of diffusion was provided for the heavenly illumination! At a period far down beyond the most distant glimmerings of profane history, a particular family was selected and led by the Divine Hand to a region, situated at the threshold of the three great continents, on a conspicuous spot, near which all communications of commerce, travel and war, from or to Europe, Asia and Africa necessarily passed. For wise and obvious purposes, the chosen family was there kept secluded from the rest of the world for centuries. How admirably adapted was the territory to this purpose! It was a fertile and most salubrious valley, between ranges of mountain-barriers, rising through the clouds in many points, to wintry elevations of temperature, comprising at different altitudes on its descending slopes, every variety of climate and production, and watered through its entire length by a river, rising among wild mountains at one extremity, expanding at intervals into small inland seas, and at the other extremity not flowing, as rivers elsewhere do, into an open sea—for that would have defeated the design of the temporary seclusion of the nation—but mysteriously vanishing beneath the barren sands of inhospitable and untraversable deserts. While the Divine Wisdom required the sequestration of that people for such a length

of time from the rest of the world, and their imprisonment within such limited boundaries, its Benevolence selected for their residence a region containing within its narrow confines every variety of soil and temperature. The Israelite, as he reclined at sultry noon beneath the grateful shade of the palm and the olive, on the banks of the Jordan, beheld on either side, as in panoramic epitome, from the luxuriance of the warmest valleys to the far-off mountain pinnacles, scathed by the upper lightnings and gleaming in crests of perennial snows, all the gradations of animate and inanimate nature, as they are distributed through the latitudes of the globe from the torrid line to the frozen pole.

Here, while the work of preparation was going on without, amidst the innumerable forms of polytheism in the Gentile world, the great elemental truth of the Unity of God was sacredly preserved until the fulness of the times for its universal dissemination arrived. The purposes for which the Hebrew people had been selected and separated were then accomplished. Temple and ritual, prophecy and priesthood, sacrifice and offering, were all consummated in the life, death, and resurrection of Him who was to be the Light of the World. Judea was now ready to be released from her seclusion, and at this stage of the divinely arranged plan her people were required to go forth, and act upon, and mix with, the rest of the nations. In accordance with that principle, so signally developed in many other conjunctures of human history, the wrath of man was made to subserve the Providence of God. The storm of war burst with all its devastating and destructive horrors upon the Holy Land. The eagles of Rome were unfurled over the ruins of its City and Temple. Not one stone was left upon another of the walls of Jerusalem, and the captive people were scattered by the conqueror

among all the nations. They carried their Scriptures, in whose prophetic visions and foreshadowing symbols the seeds of Christianity were wrapped up, with them into every scene of their exile, and every path of their wanderings.

The wisdom of the Divine Being in the selection of Judea to be the centre from which the light of true religion was to irradiate the surrounding world, was proved by the immediate results. During the first age of the church, in which Christianity attained a diffusion more rapid and extensive than it has in all subsequent centuries, it spread over a similar extent of territory and population, and penetrated to an equal distance, in Europe, Asia, and Africa. In the developments of the ages yet to come, when the routes of travel and intercommunication between the three ancient continents, and between America and the East, shall be laid through Palestine, whose scenes will thus become familiar with all mankind, then will the Providence which made that the theatre of the religious history of the race, become justified and displayed in all its lustre and glory.

It is unnecessary for me to remind you of the prominent events and influences brought to bear upon the condition of mankind, subsequent to the Christian revelation. The decline and fall of the Roman dominion, including, before it fell, the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the empire. The influx and commixture of vast tribes of barbarians. The rise and spread of the Mahomedan power, preserving affrighted Christendom from the complete stupor into which superstition, ignorance, and priestcraft, if aided by entire security, would have lulled it. The Crusades, gathering into mighty hosts the population of States, transferring them by thousands and tens of thousands into new

scenes, thus awakening in their minds fresh and stirring ideas, and on their return, bringing back, and scattering over benighted and barbarian Europe, the elements of oriental refinement and elegance. The amazing impulse given to thought and knowledge by the invention and use of the movable type. The opening of straight paths across the mighty deep by the discovery of the polarity of the magnetized needle, "the faithful pilot," as the mariners' compass has been felicitously personified by the most eloquent of American writers,[1] offering his services without money and without price, to every navigator, sitting serene, steadfast, and unwearied at the helm, through all storms, and without star, or landmark, or plummet, steering over the widest oceans with unerring accuracy and absolute assurance. And, at last, the Reformation, breaking the lethargy of uniformity, in which Christendom was sleeping the sleep of death, and through the infinite divisions and conflicts of creed and practice to which it gave rise, disclosing and enforcing the great vital principle of true reform and renovation, the rights, the claims, and the power of every individual soul.

The combinations were now completed. Beneath the surface and in the heart of society the ingredients were mingling and working, whose final results will be the disfranchisement and elevation of humanity. But in the old world, the forms of oppression, superstition and error, had become so intertwisted and riveted to each other, and to the radical elements of our social nature, and had spread such a thick incrustation, as it were, over its entire surface, that the expansive force of internal elements alone could not have thrown them off, without an explosion which would have prostrated in desolation and scattered in fragments, the whole fabric

[1] Edward Everett—Orations, p. 255.

of society. It was necessary that an influence, co-operating with that within, should be brought to bear from without, and then the process of amelioration would, at once, be safe and sure, the forms and monuments of error and evil would melt gradually away, and the structures of truth, freedom, and righteousness rise in their places.

At this moment, then, we witness, beyond all comparison, the most sublime occurrence in human history. No one event, with the exception, of course, of those which belong to the sphere of revealed religion, in all the past or future annals of the world can approach it. We behold the Almighty hand drawing forth, as from the depths of darkness and vacuity, the American continents, and bringing them into electric contact and communication with surcharged Europe. The ideas struggling into existence there, and struggling in vain, against the mountain-weight of ancient abuses, prejudice, and ignorance, and the banded power of all interested in the then existing state of things, were welcomed to a free exercise and display on the unoccupied shores of America, and flourishing here into maturity, have passed back again to aid in the regeneration of the old world. The empire of darkness had, from the beginning, prevailed over this hemisphere. The elements of the world's redemption had been imparted to the opposite hemisphere. In order that they might take full effect, and renovate the entire race of man, an action and reaction were required to be established between these two great divisions of the earth. Europe, which in this view of the subject may be regarded as including the entire eastern hemisphere, and America, came into communication, and from that moment humanity received an impulse which has visibly and steadily accelerated its progress. The effects produced by the free

and fearless experiments in the department of government and human rights, here in process, upon the feudal fixtures and rigid conservatism of the old world, and in the opposite direction, in the forms of literature, science, fashion, and emigration, although in particular instances and phases dreaded and lamented by some, are, upon the whole, most salutary and reciprocally beneficent. It is not to be imagined that so mighty a power as the moral influence upon each other of continents in intercommunication, will always operate gently and insensibly. The subtle electricity is continually diffusing and equalizing its life-sustaining and life-imparting energies—it ever flows from cloud to earth, and from earth to cloud. From time to time, however, particular combinations occur, of atmosphere, wind, and heat, which give to this ordinarily imperceptible, and always salutary, process, a visible and terrific form—the lightnings flash, and the deep thunder rolls; but the storm is of brief duration, its fury is rapidly expending, the darkness is breaking and disappearing, the landscape is refreshed, the air is growing purer and more exhilarating, and the sky is brightening over our heads.

Turning from the contemplation of the event we commemorate, in this broad and philosophical aspect, let us now endeavor to bring it, in its actual details, before our imagination.

The Mayflower, weather-beaten and tempest-tossed, has reached the shores of America. The Divine superintendence, while it has preserved her, and the precious freight she bears, from being swallowed up in the sea, so overruled the winds and currents, and, as is thought by some, the motives of her commander, that she made the coast at a very different point from that designed by the colonists, and where, although industry, temperance, intelligence, and hardy enterprise have gathered

in our day as happy and prosperous a population as can be found in any quarter of the world, the aspect and conformation of the land present as unwelcome and desolate a spectacle as weary mariner ever looks upon. Reefs and shoals are strown along in front of the shore to forbid and repel approach. Above and beyond the beaches, all that can be seen are desert banks and hills of sand. Cheerless and dreary as it now appears, although crowned with light-houses and interspersed with the innumerable sails of a vast coasting trade and foreign commerce, how dismal and disheartening the scene must have been to the Pilgrims, as they approached it amidst the storms and ice of winter! At length, after many days and nights spent in exploring Cape Cod and Barnstable Bay, in search of a safe and convenient resting-place, they came to anchor in the harbor of Plymouth. As the boat, containing the first division of the passengers, put off from the side of the vessel, a scene was presented inexhaustibly rich, in all of visible and moral interest that can be needed to kindle the imagination, fill the meditative mind, or awaken in the heart tender and admiring affections. The painter and the poet have already drawn inspiration from it, and it will forever attract and sustain the highest powers of their genius.

> "Wild was the day, the wintry sea
> Moaned sadly on New England's strand,
> When first the thoughtful and the free,
> Our fathers, trod the desert land."[1]

The waters, darkened by the clouds which, in that season, so prevailingly overhang them,—the rocky ice-clad coast—the islands and the main, a frozen, shelterless solitude—sky, sea, shore, were all invested with

[1] William Cullen Bryant.

their most forbidding aspect. The shivering exiles slowly approach in their deeply laden long-boat. They search for a safe and convenient landing-place, and make their way towards a rock with a low and level surface, imbedded in the gravelly beach, and extending from the bank into the surf. As they leaped upon that rock, desolate as was the scene around them, and dark as was their prospect, a burden was lifted, at once, from their long oppressed bosoms. As the solid continent was felt beneath their feet, their devout hearts ascended in unutterable gratitude to that Divine mercy which had borne them over the boisterous deep, and guided them in that perilous season through the dangers of a coast which mariners approach, even now, at all seasons, with peculiar anxiety, and which had opened to them an asylum where their views of Christian freedom and social progress might be indulged without let or hindrance from man. But great as was their joy, fervent as their gratitude, and lofty and far-reaching as their faith in the Providence of whose great designs they were the instruments, little could they foresee or imagine the lustre of renown which would reflect back through all subsequent ages upon that hour of their experience.

As time discloses the grand and beneficent results to humanity, in all climes and regions, of the colonization of America by enlightened, free, and Christian men—as the practicability of popular sovereignty and social institutions, based upon the principle of unlimited progress and reform, becomes more and more signally displayed in America, and more and more appreciated in the old world, the halo of glory encircling the Pilgrim Fathers will brighten in the retrospect of grateful generations. Already is an homage rendered, and a triumph awarded them, greater than ever monarch or warrior won. On each recurring anniversary their descen-

dants, dwelling in the ancient commonwealth including within its limits the Rock of Plymouth, assemble in joyful and reverent crowds around it; and in the remotest quarters of their dispersion throughout the vast republic, sprung from foundations which they laid, pressing on, as they do, among the very foremost at the extreme verge of our ever-expanding empire, the posterity of the Pilgrims look back with filial love and increasing interest to the day and the scene we are commemorating. The 22d of December is becoming honored and consecrated by public observances, at the principal centres of population in all parts of the Union; and it needs no greater insight of the future than all eyes possess, to behold before many years have passed, the sons of New England gathering, as you are gathered here, on the return of this day, in cities whose foundations remain to be laid, and in capitals of States whose stars are yet to rise into the crowded galaxy of our flag, beyond the Rocky Mountains, and on the shores of that western ocean, which, as the very charters of the earliest colonies witness, was the only limit the first founders of our country would recognize or brook to their visions of liberty and happiness for the whole continent.

> "Where the sun, with softer fires,
> Looks on the vast Pacific sleep,
> The children of the Pilgrim sires
> This hallowed day, like us, shall keep."

Perhaps it may be expected by some, that I should recount, on this occasion, the fearful sufferings, the wasting privations, the heroic endurance, and the brave deeds of the earliest Pilgrim colonists; the difficulties they met and surmounted, and the persevering fidelity with which they held on, while so many of the first adventurers to America retreated from the enterprise or

sunk beneath its trials and exposures, to the noble purpose of securing to their descendants a permanent home of liberty and religion on this continent. The theme is both fruitful and attractive. Whoever seeks for topics of the noblest dignity or the tenderest interest, will find them in the chronicles that have been fortunately preserved of the first settlers of the shores of Massachusetts Bay.[1] And, indeed, all along the track of the history of the Colonies, the brightest illustrations of personal bravery, fortitude, and magnanimity, and of political integrity and wisdom are thickly scattered. But others have treated these subjects more fully than my limits permit, and with such success as leaves no occasion for a repetition. Venturing to assume, therefore, that your own recollections of what you have heard and read will supply enough to bring your minds and hearts into sympathy with the occasion, I propose to draw, from the contemplation of the character and history of the first and the early subsequent generations of New England, some general considerations, which may serve to enable us and our successors better to fulfil the great purposes to which America was consecrated by the virtues, the faith, and the prayers of the Pilgrim Fathers.

It would be impossible, in a single discourse, to do full justice to the great and noble denomination of men to which the founders of New England belonged. The PURITANS are acknowledged by their enemies to have breathed the spirit of liberty into the British constitution; and the freedom and prosperity of America are

[1] Two very valuable and interesting volumes have recently been published, comprising the most important and authoritative documents, under the editorial care of Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., of Boston, and enriched, in the notes, with the stores of his learning. The one is entitled, "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth;" the other "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay."

the record of their glory. So great is the preponderance of their services to mankind over all the faults that can be charged upon them, that those who most affectionately and proudly cherish their memory fear not, but rejoice, to have their merits brought into discussion. Their errors provide the shade needful to give full effect to the light that beams from their virtues. Denying myself, on the present occasion, the gratification of expatiating, in detail, upon the character and career of the Puritans, I would only observe that the monuments of their wisdom, heroism, and greatness tower far, far above all other objects of political interest, in the perspective of the past, and in the spectacle of the present. Those monuments are the Commonwealth of England, with the civil wars that led to it, and the Colonization of New England, terminating in the establishment of the Republic of the United States of America. What description, or body of men, since the world began, has accomplished by mere human means, a work to be compared with this?

The history of the Commonwealth of England has never yet been adequately written. When justice shall have been done to the illustrious theme, it will be acknowledged that in no movement of mankind has the mind of a people exhibited a grander development, or the cause of human rights and social reform been more faithfully, intelligently and bravely vindicated. In the earnest struggles and lofty aspirations of the champions of liberty and humanity, the profoundest depths of political science were then fathomed and explored; and if it had been possible in the old world, at that period, for a government founded upon the principles of freedom, and expressing the will and sovereignty of the people, to have succeeded, the English Commonwealth would have been permanently established, and the great

spirits who administered it, in its different stages, have enjoyed, from the first, what will be rendered to them at last—the admiration of the world.

As it respects the monument reared by the Puritans, on this side of the ocean, I would only say, that the most condensed and summary review of the free institutions they planted, and which, protected by their courage and constancy, and deriving the principle of inextinguishable vitality from their spirit, are now flourishing, maturely developed, in republican States gathering under the American Union, would occupy a wider space than can be allowed to an anniversary address. History, in its most elaborate and classical form, requires its amplest folds to embrace them; and in this, the most appropriate office of history, foreign and domestic genius are emulating each other.

Descending from these higher and more comprehensive views, I desire to call your attention to one or two particular points in the example of the Pilgrim Fathers, which may be profitably pondered at the present time.

One of the chief elements of their character, and sources of their strength and success, was their appreciation of the greatness and importance of the sphere which every man occupies, in his individual capacity, as distinguished from his relations to the State or society in any of its forms. The energy and influence of each private person, the contribution each individual may make to the general welfare, the might with which a free arm, working the will of a free spirit, is clothed, without aid from government, and in spite of the frowns of government, in fields of action which government cannot close,—this element of character was developed by the early colonists with more power than by any other community.

The Christian revelation, by bringing all mankind

into an equal and immediate relation to the universal Father, had announced the dignity of each separate soul. But the political institutions and social forms of mankind, in all nations, had been wrought by ambition, love of power, superstition and ignorance, into a system in which individual rights were entirely overlooked or deliberately sacrificed. The State, as such, or, as it really was practically, the ruling power, was everything; the People were nothing. Instead of the king being for the welfare of the country, the country and all who belonged to it were for the welfare of the king. Instead of the priest being for the good of the church, the church was for the good of the priest. The tendency of every institution and mode of social action, political, ecclesiastical and military was to merge the bulk of mankind into masses, and limit free individual action to monarchs, popes, and generals. The few, who were the heads of the State or Church, exercised arbitrary and unlimited sway; the vast residue of mankind walked the weary round of prescribed and servile labors, whose fruits they were not permitted freely to enjoy, and from which they were forbidden to aspire. Their wills were enslaved, and their actions controlled by the influence of a despotism, operating either through the arbitrary edicts of irresponsible rulers, or fixed usages, with which long-continued and hopeless subjection had crushed their spirits into an implicit acquiescence. The Reformation had, to some extent, startled the masses to a perception of their rights as individuals; but the fatal schemes to which its leaders lent their ears, pursuing the pestilent phantom of uniformity, which, from the beginning to this hour, has defrauded the soul of man of its birthright and kept the fires of persecution burning, again sealed the prospects of individual freedom of spirit. The great discoveries of that period,

and the stirring influences that followed in their train, held out, for a season, encouragement that essential reforms might be effected; but the result of the operation of new ideas in the civil wars of England, and of the struggles for the rights of mankind, as individuals, in other parts of the old world, even up to the present time, afford conclusive evidence that, if a fairer field had not been opened in America, the cause of the people, as such, could never have made effectual efforts to throw off the burdens fastened upon transatlantic Christendom by ages of feudal bondage.

But from the moment the European colonist planted his foot on this continent, the energies, the rights, and the dignity of man, as an individual, were secured for ever. The necessities of his situation rendered this result inevitable. The contributions of every hand were needed to perform the labors indispensable to the existence of the company, and of every head to devise and conduct the means of encountering the difficulties with which they were surrounded. The unlimited extent of the territory, and the limited productiveness of the soil, led them to scatter over the face of the country, at some distance from each other in the same community, and to select for their townships the most fertile, and otherwise eligible, districts however remote from previous settlements. Every head of a family had obtained by religious illumination and faith, before he left his home in the old country, strong and clear conceptions of the sanctity and value of his own spirit, and of his dignity as the disciple of Him, who, in becoming the only Master of the soul, had redeemed it from all subjection to human authority. The reception of the grace of God into his heart, of which his speculative theology and practical piety both gave evidence, imparted to him an inward sense of equality with the highest potentates of

earth. He, who looked forward with calm assurance to a heavenly crown of glory and immortality, would have felt no abasement in the presence of kings. After his establishment in the wilds of America, he surveyed the broad acres which were all his own, and his exclusively, unencumbered by feudal or baronial vassalage, subject to no tribute, taxation, or service—as far as his eye could reach into the depths of the forest, to the summits of the hills, along the courses of the streams, and over the bosom of the ocean, there was none to dispute his possession, or interfere with his movements, or in any way restrain or affect the exercises of his will or his faculties. Such a person, thus situated, could not but have constantly exulted in his freedom, and have felt with every pulsation his power and his dignity as a man.

The first settlers of America, by the very act of their emigration, proclaimed their sense of the supreme importance of man as an individual—of his superiority in that aspect to all the properties he possesses as a member of political society, as the subject and citizen of a State. They had long felt government only in its pressure, and had cherished the idea of a removal beyond its reach, whatever amount of suffering that removal in other respects might occasion, as the greatest of blessings. "Open to us," they exclaimed, "a refuge from civil and ecclesiastical oppression, and we will fly to it, no matter how fiercely the wide ocean opens its mouth to swallow us, or with what terrors the wintry wilderness may threaten us." And when, on arranging their condition in America, they found it necessary to construct a government for the preservation of order and justice, and for the regular administration of the ordinances and public services of religion, they carefully sought to reserve to themselves as much power as pos-

sible, depositing as large a proportion as they could of what it was absolutely necessary to delegate, within a sphere so limited as to be under their own eyes, in the parish and the town, and transacting in primary assemblies as far as practicable their own public business.

It is true, that, misled by the spirit still disastrously prevalent, they soon began to employ the enginery of State and Church to work out Utopian schemes of reform—by legislation and discipline, encroaching upon private rights, and invading personal freedom at every point where the slighest evil was supposed to lurk. But these attempts to subdue the individual character into conformity with standards set up by authority, were ultimately found to be vain and fruitless. The circumstances of their situation, already sketched, the ideas at the foundation of their religious faith and experience, and the systems of education they established prevailed over all counteracting influences, and gave a development and force to individual intellect and will, to every original peculiarity and tendency of genius; of which the results are seen in the wonderful progress and present prosperity of the States they founded, and in the enterprise, energy, ingenuity, and success of their descendants wherever scattered. The power of character, growing out of this free development of the turn of mind of every individual, and the feeling connected with it, that each one may and must choose his own course, open his own path, and determine his own condition, has made New England impregnable, and covered her comparatively stubborn and sterile soil with abundance. This is the secret magic by which her sons command success and wealth wherever they wander. The States included under that name have contracted limits, and are subject to many disadvantages—on the expanding map, or in the multiplying census of the

Union, they may appear feeble and insignificant, but their prosperity is sure and will be perpetual—no power of party—no sectional prejudice—no error of policy—no injustice of government can permanently or essentially check the career of progress in wealth and civilization, along which the energies of individual ingenuity, enterprise, intelligence, and industry have from the beginning impelled them.

When this force of individual character, this consciousness of inherent power, is once brought into exercise, and becomes habitual, entering into the frame of the mind, then is man clothed with his true strength. Obstacle, peril and suffering, serve only to reveal in the heart, sources of energy, hidden and undreamed-of before. The great master of the drama and of human nature expounds the principle.

> ——"The fire i' the flint
> Shows not, till it be struck."

One of the most accomplished of the Latin classics declares the effect which trial and difficulty exert in bringing out this mighty force of character, "*Adversa magnos probent*"—all history and observation demonstrate it. The mind, thrown upon its own resources, and summoning them resolutely to the effort, rises with every emergency, and confronts and surmounts all that can be brought against it. Such was the discipline of the early New England character. Cold, hunger, disease, desolation, grappled with it in vain, at the beginning. Neither the tomahawk nor war-whoop of the Indian, nor all the terrors which hung over their defenceless hamlets, could subdue hearts armed with this inward strength. It grew with constant and healthful vigor through all vicissitudes. The neglect of the mo-

ther-country could not cast a shade dark or damp enough to wither it. The most violent storms of its anger could not break it. Charters were torn away by the ruthless hand of arbitrary power, and every resource of despotism was exhausted to curb and crush it. But all was in vain. The people, severally and universally, had realized their rights, and their power, as men; and a determination to advance their own condition, to retain and enlarge their privileges, thus pervading the entire population, made them superior to all local disadvantages, and triumphant over all opposition. It placed their prosperity beyond the reach of power or fortune. So long as the arm of the settler could wield an axe, or his hand cast a vote; so long as the district school-house opened its doors to impart the knowledge and the mental culture, enabling him to understand and maintain his rights, or the village church lifted its spire into the heavens to remind him of that immortal element, which, glowing in his breast, placed him on a level with the highest of his fellow men, it would be impossible to enslave him, or prevent his progress.

It is the great advantage of free institutions, when aided by suitable provisions of education, that they give opportunity for natural diversities to display themselves. No permanent castes hang their dead weights on the community. Each individual, as he enters the scenes of active life, instead of being compelled to walk in the same path with his ancestors, chooses his own occupation, marks out a new course for himself, and by a special combination, adapts the voluntary conditions of his existence to his own peculiar tastes and faculties. This impulsive projection of each individual, according to his peculiar nature, into the engagements and struggles of business and of life in all its forms; this self-originating, and self-stimulating earnestness of pursuit,

taking effect upon a whole people, is well worthy of the study of the philosophic mind. We sometimes hear it spoken of with a sneer. The determined assurance, and ingenious contrivances, and indefatigable perseverance by which New Englanders push their fortunes in the world, in particular instances, may justly excite ridicule, contempt, or aversion; but regarded in a comprehensive and general aspect, as a pervading and distinctive element of national character, this spirit of enterprise rises into greatness, and becomes truly imposing. It secures perpetual and boundless progress. It diffuses prosperity. It evokes all latent power. It silently, and by a most benignant process, wins for a nation nobler victories, and a greater dominion than the mightiest armies could have achieved.

It was not a mere personal boast, but the authentic and genuine utterance of this unconquerable and all conquering spirit of individual enterprise and energy, when, a short time since, a distinguished merchant, himself a most signal illustration, in his history and fortune, of the power of such a spirit to command wealth and influence, in an argument on the protective policy of the country, speaking in the name of the industry of New England, said to the national legislators, "alter, reduce, destroy the tariff; pass whatever laws you may, adopt whatever policy you choose, we *will make money*." Surely, the history of the action of government upon the labor, business, and capital of New England, through the entire period of its dependence on the mother-country, and I may say, without involving myself in party passions, up to this very hour, bears one continued triumphant testimony to the superiority of energy and intelligence, pervading a people, to all the powers that government can possibly exert. If when their industry, bravery, hardihood, and skill, in all the

multiplied forms and channels of foreign commerce, were reaping harvests of wealth on every sea, you closed their ports by embargo and war, they at once transferred the scene of their achievements. Forests vanished before them; new regions poured forth riches from their fresh and unexhausted bosoms; and everywhere the sounds of the water-wheel, the trip-hammer, and the steam-engine were heard mingling with the voices of nature and of men. If, after having compelled them to give this direction to their capital and enterprise, reversing the policy of your laws, you attempt to crush the manufacturing and mechanical interests of such a people, their ingenuity and energy, constituting an inexhaustible resource, because one to which all severally contribute spontaneously, perpetually and to the whole extent of their power, will probably be found able to elude the blow, and make it subserve the very objects it was designed to injure; but if driven from their mills and workshops, they will again spread the wings of commerce, and despite of your utmost efforts, place themselves ahead of all competitors on the tide of prosperity.

This principle of individual intelligence, ingenuity, and resolution pervading the people of New England, is covering the land with its monuments and trophies. In every form in which skill can combine with labor, in mechanism, in the infinite applications of science and processes of art, in patient researches into nature, and in all departments of mental activity; in solitary adventure, or in associated companies, religious, moral, political, or financial—directing the resources of multitudes with the accuracy and efficiency of a single intelligence and will—it is working incalculable effects. It turns barrenness into fertility, straightens the winding and crooked paths, smooths down every rugged ob-

stacle, accelerates speed, reduces cost, multiplies business, creates wealth, draws useless rivers from their ancient beds into navigable and secure artificial channels, awakens the hum of inventive, animated, and well-rewarded industry along the banks of every descending stream, opens with its touch the bosom of the earth to give forth its mineral treasures, converts the ice of our northern lakes into a most welcome article of world-wide commerce, and sinking its quarries into the bare and desolate mountains, manipulates the shapeless granite into forms of architectural grace and beauty, and spreads them in classic colonnades and lofty structures, along the streets of distant cities.

Sons of New England! your ancestors relied upon the power of their own arms, upon their own ingenuity, skill, and personal industry and enterprise. They never looked for the chief blessings of life to the government. They did not expect that freedom, prosperity or happiness was to be secured to their posterity by legislation, or any form of political administration, but they planted the seed which was to bear the precious fruits, in the awakened, enlightened, and invigorated mental energies of their descendants. For this they provided their system of universal education; and if you would be worthy of your ancestry, you must do likewise. Look not to legislation, or to official patronage, or to any public resources or aids to make yourselves or your children prosperous, powerful and happy. But trust to your and their energy of character and enlightened minds, and persevering enterprise and industry. Cherish these traits, and they will work out, in the future, the same results, as in the past. The earth will everywhere blossom beneath you. You will be sure of exerting your rightful influence in every community. You will be placed beyond the reach of injustice and oppres-

sion. Rash and weak counsels may involve the foreign relations of the confederacy; short-sighted or perverse legislation may do its worst to embarrass your interests; but if you resolutely apply your own resources of industry, skill, and enterprise to circumstances as they rise, you will be able to turn them to your advantage, and the great essential of democratic sovereignty will be guaranteed to you, the pursuit and the attainment of individual happiness and prosperity.

Another feature in the character of the Pilgrim Fathers, to which I wish particularly to turn your attention, is their trust in an overruling and co-operating Providence. In their records, journals, and other writings, no sentiment has greater prominence than this. It was an abiding and a practical principle. It imparted habitual contentment, gratitude, courage, patience, and assurance of ultimate success. In the greater part of their number, it was not a mere speculative faith, but a personal experience.

While the mind, in the present state of being, is enclosed in these material bodies, with no capacity to attain to communicable knowledge beyond the reach of the perceptions of sense and the deductions to be derived from them, one person will never be able to pronounce absolutely upon the manner or the degree to which the soul of another person is cognizant of God. We know, or by a proper use of our faculties of consciousness and self-inspection, can know, how clearly and how high our own souls have risen into the presence and communion of God. The observation of life, if not the happy experience of our own spirits, gives evidence that virtue, in the highest or indeed the only true sense, as founded upon an habitual and spontaneous recognition of duty to God, brings the heart of man into an immediate relation to the Divine Being, imparts to

it of the very fullness of the Deity, and lifts it into a heavenly frame. The exaltation of character produced by such virtue is as truly as beautifully described by the poet, whose own genius was translated, by the contemplation of God, into the divinest nature:—

> "Love Virtue, she alone is free,
> She can teach you how to climb
> Higher than the sphery clime,
> Or, if Virtue feeble were,
> Heaven itself would stoop to her."

This elevation of the habitual promptings of the ordinary actions and familiar duties of daily life into the sphere of piety and faith, into a constant, living, trusting connection with God, the form of virtue which Milton describes, must be allowed, even by those who sympathize the least with them, to have marked, to an eminent degree, the character of the Pilgrim Fathers. If ever men gave presumptive evidence of habitual communion with the Most High, and reference to him in action and in conversation, they did.

"In those days," said one of their number, looking back, after the lapse of nearly half a century, to the time when, in his youth, he participated in the privations and perils of the first settlement of the country, "In those days God did cause his people to trust in Him, and to be contented with mean things." And after alluding to the more comfortable and secure condition of the generation that had risen around him, and mentioning several particulars in which their situation was much "better," he asked, "have you better hearts than your forefathers had?" [1]

That which gave the forefathers "better hearts," was,

[1] Captain Roger Clap's Memoirs. Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 353.

as he stated it, "Trust in God." They rejoiced in the shelter of an overruling Providence, and, in the meanness and sufferings of their state, they looked forward with glad exultation and habitual exhilaration of soul, and with as absolute a vision as ever illuminated inspired prophet, to glorious results, one day to be evolved, for the reformation of Christendom and the advancement of mankind, from the work whose small beginnings they had been selected to conduct.

I need not enumerate the occasions in their history, or the features of their usages and institutions, which strikingly display this sentiment. I am not affirming more than all acquainted with the annals of the American Colonies will promptly corroborate, when I state that, without its influence pervading their counsels, and clothing their arms with its invincible strength, not one of the great struggles for liberty, of which the Revolution was the closing act, would have been successful, or attempted.

At several periods the colonies persevered, in asserting their rights, and confronting arbitrary power, when they were utterly destitute of all human means of defence, or resistance. In such cases they relied upon the interposition of Providence, with the same security with which a general, when the tide of battle fluctuates, reposes on his reserved legions. They did not feel authorised, because they were temporarily overthrown, to compromise with the enemies of their liberty, or by any capitulation, surrender the cause. They had an assurance that Providence was on their side, and they felt that it would be treachery to their Almighty ally for them to strike the flag of freedom. This trust in God nailed it to the mast; and there its folds were often seen floating in the heavens, when the last of its brave defenders had fallen in the fight. The history of the

world presents no spectacle more sublime than the heroic and devout confidence, with which, when no longer able to lift a hand in the cause of liberty and right, they left the issue to their Divine Protector.

Five years after the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay had been brought over by Winthrop, when the entire population consisted of a few infant villages and scattered hamlets, information was received that their enemies in the mother-country had succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a commission, at the head of which were the two Arch-Bishops, with authority to regulate the plantations of New England, to establish the national church on the ruins of Independent Congregationalism, to rescind the Charter, to overthrow the government, and to impose arbitrary laws—the colonists rose in resistance, few and feeble as they were, with as much promptitude and determination as they did when numbering millions, more than a century and a quarter afterwards, on the imposition of the duty upon stamps and teas. They erected fortifications, raised a beacon light on the highest eminence in Boston, to give the alarm on the approach of the Commissioners or their agents, and forbidding the circulation of brass farthings, ordained that *musket balls* should take their place in the currency and exchanges of the people. But well knowing that their utmost strength would be unavailing against the power of the throne, they consulted, as was their custom in cases of extremity, the ministers, in reference to their duty in the last resort, and the answer was—"We ought to defend our lawful possessions, if we are able; if not, to avoid and protract"—the idea of a voluntary submission was never tolerated for a moment. Again, a quarter of a century afterwards, the governor of New York, writing concerning them, said, "The colony of Boston remains constant to

its old maxims of a free State, dependent on none but God." At length, in 1683, the long deferred blow was struck. The Charter, under whose benignant shelter the liberties of Massachusetts had been rooted and had grown up, and which had once been bravely recovered by the people rising in open and successful rebellion, was torn for ever from their tenacious grasp. The deed was accomplished, and there was no hope left. They were urged by all the arguments and persuasions that could be addressed to their helplessness, their despair, and their worldly interests, to acquiesce in the proceedings of the government, and, making a virtue of necessity, to obtain, by a voluntary surrender, as favorable terms as possible. And what was the answer of the representatives of the people to these solicitations? "The civil liberties of New England," say they, "are part of the inheritance of our fathers; and shall we give that inheritance away? Is it objected that we shall be exposed to great sufferings? BETTER SUFFER THAN SIN. It is better to trust the God of our fathers, than to put confidence in princes. If we suffer because we dare not comply with the will of men, against the will of God, we suffer in a good cause, and shall be accounted martyrs in the next generation, and at the great day." Upon full consideration, and after an extended debate, breathing such sentiments as these, the question was put to vote, and the decision stands recorded in these words, "THE DEPUTIES CONSENT NOT."

This spirit was, if possible, still more boldly displayed by Connecticut, a few years afterwards, when temporarily crushed down by the same arbitrary power. The historian of the United States thus tells the story—

"Andros found the assembly in session, and demanded the surrender of its Charter. The brave Governor Treat pleaded earnestly for the cherished patent, which

had been purchased by sacrifices and martyrdoms, and was endeared by halcyon days. The shades of evening descended during the prolonged discussion; an anxious crowd of farmers had gathered to witness the debate. The Charter lay on the table. Of a sudden, the lights are extinguished; and, as they are rekindled, the Charter had disappeared. William Wadsworth, of Hartford, stealing noiselessly through the opening crowd, concealed the precious parchment in the hollow of an oak, which was older than the colony, and is yet standing to confirm the tale." [1]

This heroic procedure is recognised, at once, in its sublimity, when read, in its true interpretation, as expressive of unquestioning trust in the favor and interposition of Heaven. The concealment and preservation of the Charter, was, in itself, the declaration of an assurance that, as a few short years disclosed, an overruling Providence would restore its original authority, and renew, with increase, the privileges that flowed from it. When the sacred instrument, on the recurrence of happier times, was taken from its hiding-place, it was, as the historian informs us, "discolored, but not effaced," and the liberties it secured to that happy commonwealth, were never again overthrown, but having been consecrated by the noblest sacrifices and services of her sons, in the councils and on the battle-fields of the Union, are now imperishable and impregnable.

As I have before observed, this trust in God, constituted, in the founders of New England, the strength of their hearts, and if, at the close of the first generation, an aged survivor apprehended that the heart of the people had lost some of the strength it derived from this source, there is still more reason to fear it now.

[1] History of the Colonization of the United States by George Bancroft. Vol. II., p. 432.

It is, I think, the great error and fault of our times and country, that but little reliance is placed on the over-ruling and co-operating agency of God, and but little room allowed for it in the calculations and projects of men. The philanthropists and reformers of the age, especially, seem to be unmindful of Providential agency. They, as well as the politicians, speak and act, as though the salvation of mankind depended upon the adoption of certain measures of theirs, and the cause of human liberty and progress rested mainly on the success of their schemes and efforts. Indeed, there is a too general, if not an almost universal, tendency to look to modifications of government, acts of legislation, and *associated movements*, as the sole means of promoting the welfare of communities. Men allow themselves to identify the cause of liberty and righteousness with favorite notions and projects, and, having come to the conclusion that they must have their way or all will be lost, pursue their purposes with a fanatical, overbearing and unscrupulous spirit.

The oppressions and persecutions with which mankind have been afflicted from the beginning have sprung, not from malignity or cruelty, but from the fatal persuasion that the welfare and redemption of the race are inseparably connected with the prevalence of some particular service, or creed, or government. The same cause produces, as far as circumstances allow, the same effect now. The theologian when he witnesses the decline of any of his own favorite dogmas, feels that the rock, on which the Savior planted his church, is crumbling beneath it. The politician, when the elections have terminated in the overthrow of his party and the access to power of his opponents, sinks into despair of the Republic. The philanthropist, when the particular plan he has long been urging upon the public, as

the only adequate means of ameliorating the condition and removing the wrongs of his fellow men, is discredited and discarded, is too apt to abandon his hopes of humanity, and lose his faith as well as his temper. The element in which they are all deficient, is an abiding, intelligent, steadfast assurance, that God, as well as they, is at work, reforming and blessing the world. Instead of assuming, as they attempt to do, the entire command of events, if they would but pause, from time to time, and trace the steps of the All-wise and Omnipotent disposer, and await with serene and cheerful confidence the movements of the Divine agency, a path of most efficient and benignant action would be opened to them, and their efforts be crowned with sure and permanent success.

The Providence of God over the moral world, on which our fathers rested their chief hope, and the belief of which was to them an inexhaustible fountain of strength, courage, and patience, is more signally displayed to us than it was to them. The intermediate experience of the nations, and the increased illuminations of science, have disclosed the laws which control the welfare of associated men, as well as of individuals, with a clearness and certainty not vouchsafed to former ages. In those constant and steadfast laws, rather than in any extraordinary phenomena, we recognize the Providence of God—in them we behold his hand working the issues of his love.

Such is our speculative faith. Allow me to present an illustration of the manner in which it ought to be practically applied.

Labor, in its multiplex and infinite forms, operating with the instruments, and on the condition of matter or of mind, is the great creative principle of private and public wealth, prosperity and refinement. When it acts

under the guidance of skill and intelligence—when it obeys the promptings of a free spirit—when the arm of the laborer is invigorated by a personal interest in the results of his labor, it may with truth be said, that it conquers all things. It is clothed with strength which never wearies, and to which nothing is impossible. Nature and life become its willing and rejoicing tributaries. The earth blossoms in its brightest beauty, and teems with its most abundant bounties wherever labor is intelligent and free.

But where the laborer is not a freeman, nor enlightened by education, nor personally interested in the products of his toil, a blight and a barrenness, poverty and want, are sure to spread over the land, no matter how great its physical resources, either in the muscular strength and endurance of its people, or in the original fertility of its soil.

This indissoluble connection of the highest profitableness, with the freedom and intelligence of labor, is a law of God's moral government—or it is, to speak more accurately, one of the ordinary and established methods in which the Divine Providence visibly controls the progress and condition of humanity.

The entire surface, and whole history, of the world, display the perpetual and irresistible operation of this law. It solves all the problems which the fortunes and fates of nations present. Take the case, for instance, of Ireland. A spot more lovely or more favored by nature is not to be found on the face of the globe. Its climate healthful and inspiring—its scenery most beautiful and variegated—its soil fertile in every variety of essential produce—its inhabitants brave, hardy, industrious, and capable of continued toil to a degree never surpassed, and partaking, as national and almost universal characteristics, of the very soul of humor, of in-

exhaustible cheerfulness, of the warmest affections, and of the brightest intellect. But almost from its first appearance on the field of history, it has arrested the anxious and compassionate attention of benevolent hearts, to the convulsions and sufferings of its population. At this very moment, the piteous and dying outcries of famine mingled with the appalling shouts and execrations of mobs of desperate men, come to us with every communication from the other side of the Atlantic. I need not recount the efforts and struggles which have, to this hour, been made to redeem that Island from wretchedness. Eloquence has lavished its richest and sublimest resources of tender persuasion and animating encouragement and terrific denunciation. Patriotism, in all its forms, has offered itself up. The wisdom of legislators and ministers of state has been exercised in vain. Popular excitement in vast assemblages, widespread associations, and universal agitation have been brought to bear. But the evil has not been overcome, or even reduced. The remedy is to be found in the reverent application of that law of Providence to which I am now adverting. As, when the chemist brings two substances into contact, the mysterious energies of occult nature instantly evolve striking results—so let those, in whose hands are the destinies of Ireland, recognizing the Divine Law, by which prosperity is made to spring from enlightened, free, and interested industry, supply the conditions, leaving God to work out the result. Establish the district school, and allow the laborer to acquire a personal and permanent interest in the soil he tills. Do this, and you do all that man need or can do. God will do the rest. He will spread peace and plenty over its surface, and the Green Isle of the Ocean will bloom in beauty, and reflect back from its

landscape as bright a radiance as has ever glowed from the genius of its orators and poets.

The subject of labor, particularly, as exhibited in the servile population of a portion of our own country, is attracting absorbing attention at the present time. I am aware of the prejudices that are prone to arise against any one who ventures to discuss it in an address to a mixed assembly; but as I am confident that the public good requires that it should be presented to the consideration of the people generally in the light reflected upon it by the law of Providence now under our contemplation; I feel constrained not to shrink from the opportunity, and the duty of subjecting it to that light.

For many years we have seen a portion of our immediate fellow-citizens arraying themselves into associations, and resorting to the machinery and expedients of political parties, for the purpose of bringing the legislative action of the country to bear against this species of labor, and compel its abolition by legal enactments and alterations in the letter of the constitution. On the other hand, we see those who imagine themselves interested in its continuance, losing the propriety of their judgment under the irritation into which they have permitted themselves to be kindled, banding together for its preservation, wielding with a temper, such as affrighted despotism elsewhere manifests towards those who threaten its overthrow, the weapons of legal and illegal violence against all who question its utility or righteousness, rendering the very discussion of it penal and perilous to the life, struggling to spread it over new members of the confederacy, and actually plunging the Union into bloody and destructive war, to conquer from a neighboring nation boundless regions

of territory for the purpose of extending this form of labor. Keeping my eye fixed upon the operations of Providence, I partake not in the apprehensions of one of these descriptions of persons; and look upon the efforts of the other with an assured conviction of their impotence. On the one side I see men striving with their puny arms and frail passions to accomplish that which God, in his omnipotence, is accomplishing by processes which neither need, nor are aided by their noisy outcries and convulsive agitations, and on the other side I behold politicians and rulers contending against the laws of the Most High, and striving, with efforts as vain and absurd as would be human combinations to delay the progress of the seasons, to extend and perpetuate over this fair and glorious continent an institution into whose very vitals He has inserted the ineradicable elements of decay and dissolution.

If any one demands evidence to justify this view of the subject, let him float down rivers that divide regions where, on the one hand, labor is free, and, on the other, paralyzed by bondage—on one shore achieving its triumphs, under the stimulus of personal interest, with the strength that resides in a freeman's arm, and with the lights of skill and intelligence, and on the other, dragging its own weight after it, moving with reluctant steps, and requiring constant superintendence, guidance and compulsion. On one bank, multiplying millions are rearing at frequent intervals, queen-like cities, and by spontaneous and gladsome toils and enlightened ingenuity and perseverance, imparting to the yielding and grateful soil renewed supplies of richness and fertility—on the other, waste, and neglect, and exhaustion, are spreading their mildew influence. Such a river, with the contrasted scenes on its opposite landscapes, becomes vocal with the declaration that the very earth

itself loves and blesses freedom, and crowns with honor and prosperity the intelligent labor which owns it.

An inspection of the map of the United States displays the unrivalled natural advantages of Virginia. The ocean embraces it in wide bays, and noble rivers. The air of heaven flows over it in most balmy and salubrious breezes. Alluvial meadows, swelling uplands, green and lovely intervals, romantic and noble mountains, diversify its surface which extends beyond the summit ridge of the Atlantic States, and admits it to a participation of the benefits of the valley of the great West, whose rivers fertilize its interior boundary. In extent of territory, in natural productiveness, in the intellectual energies of its freeholders, and in its ancestral treasures of wisdom and patriotism, the Old Dominion has no superior in this confederacy. Under the census of 1820, the ratio of representation in Congress was fixed at 40,000, population being computed according to the provisions of the Constitution, and Virginia was entitled to 22 members. By the same apportionment, the State of New York was entitled to 34 members. Under the census of 1840, the ratio of representation was fixed at 70,680. New York retains the same number as under the census of 1820, namely, 34, while Virginia has gone down to 15! a loss of nearly one-third of her political power in 20 years! How long will it be before her patriotic and enlightened statesmen will return to their senses on this subject, and following the counsels of Jefferson, bravely meet the question, on its merits, and revive the wasting energies of their people and their soil?

It is now twenty-five years since the American confederacy was convulsed to its centre, and the government threatened with dissolution, on the admission of the territory of Missouri to the Union. The party in

Congress, resolved upon allowing the institution of slavery to exist in that State, finally prevailed. Looking at the progress and condition of Ohio, and the other States which have grown up under the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, and considering the natural resources and advantages of Missouri, it can scarcely be doubted that if it had been consecrated to free labor, it would, before this, have overflowed in prosperity, and other States have been seen advancing into the circle of the Union beyond its remotest borders. Now what are the facts? In his recent annual message, the Governor of that State, in all the deliberateness and solemnity of an official announcement, declares, "With our rich soil, and genial climate, we are not a prosperous and thriving people;" and plainly, with faithful boldness, accounts for the failure. "We depend," says he, "on physical labor, and reject the superior advantages of mental labor. We depend on brute force, and reject the superior advantages of skill and science."

With such demonstrations, and they might easily be indefinitely multiplied, will it be possible for our countrymen, in any section of the Union, much longer to keep themselves blind to the law of Providence, thus announcing itself, like the handwriting of God on the walls of Belshazzar's palace, in letters of light and of fire?

But, however it may be with others, may the sons of New England ever behold and confide in it. Your fathers felt an assurance, founded, in them, upon faith alone, that God was with them, and that he would, at last, give a glorious fulfilment to the hopes they had cherished, of freedom, happiness, and righteousness, for their descendants, for their country, and for mankind. What they beheld in faith, we behold in vision. We see prosperity, wealth, progress, and happiness, such as

the world never witnessed, and philosophers have scarce dreamed of before, flowing in the train of freedom, intelligence and industry. Let us recognize in it the law of Providence, and the hand of God; and let us never allow a doubt or a fear to come over our hearts in reference to the cause of liberty and humanity.

I would earnestly press these considerations upon those of our fellow citizens who are endeavoring to impart to the whole body of the people the panic to which they have yielded up their own minds, on the subject of Slavery. They tell us that its roots are sinking deeper, and its baleful shadow falling broader over the continent. They point to the new States that have brought their contributions to sustain it to the houses of Congress and the electoral colleges of the Union. They are filled with terror at the acquisition, by invasion and conquest, of boundless territories, to be occupied by the institution, and to give an interminable preponderance to the political power of which it is the basis and the bond.

I would urge and implore all such persons, to turn from the contemplation of the miserable machinations of sectional politicians, who in their folly and blindness, are endeavoring to employ the power of our government to accomplish this purpose, and to lift their eyes to that august Providence, which is steadily and surely baffling their plans, and by its immutable laws, securing to free and enlightened labor the dominion of the earth. Instead of being terrified and irritated, at what men, and parties, and earthly rulers are vainly attempting, and spreading the unbelieving and malign infection among our fellow citizens, let us, when the Almighty is so visibly stretching forth his own arm, "leave him," as one of the greatest of the Puritans said, "alone to govern the world;" not interposing our agency unless in methods subsidiary to his. Let us stand back, as it

were, in reverent silence, and rejoicing assurance, and witness the movements of our God, as he goes forth in those sublime elemental laws of his moral government by whose resistless energy he is removing the obstructions in the social and political world, which have heretofore checked the prevalence of liberty, justice, and happiness among men. The history of nations, and especially the history and present condition of our own country, display the operation of those laws, and confiding in their continued operation, let us look forward, with certainty, to their triumphs in the future.

And while we thus trust to the Providence of God to remove this great evil, let us do our part, in co-operation and subserviency to him, in rendering more efficient the agency he employs. Let us give our influence, and efforts, to promote the circulation of knowledge, to encourage freedom of spirit, enterprise and industry, and to impart to our fellow-men, and confirm in our own hearts, the truths of religion, and the sentiments of piety, which clothe the spirit with a strength from God. When the feet of the Pilgrims first struck the Rock of Plymouth, these elements of character—sources of the world's regeneration—gushed forth from it. They were the living waters that sustained our fathers in the wilderness, and they will at length fertilize and gladden the whole continent.

Freedom and enterprise are swelling with a rapidity no calculation can follow, the millions which overflow the boundaries of the north-western States. They will bring into the bosom of the republic more new States on the slopes of the Stony Mountains, than could be carved out of the whole of Mexico. They will forthwith, strangely confounding the hopes of some, preoccupy the grand and beautiful regions already conquered by our gallant armies. The climate, soil, and all the fea-

tures of that country will be found incompatible with any other than free labor. Gradually our own Territories, and the States, even where, as the Governor of Missouri expresses himself, "physical labor" has been longest depended upon, will throw off the incubus and welcome the blessings scattered by liberty along her path.

My limits allow me no more extended and elaborate discussion. There is one topic, however, which I must touch before I close.

Our fathers, as has been before intimated, entertained the idea,—sometimes the vision brightened into clearness of delineation, sometimes it was dimmed with shadows, but its outlines never vanished wholly from their minds,—that a vast empire, to be limited only by the great oceans, was to rise from the foundations they laid. In a prophetic dream, which a poet of our own day imagines to have visited one of the Pilgrim Fathers, he justly represents the voice of their posterity as exclaiming—"The continent is ours." [1] Besides particular sentiments incidentally expressed, to be found in their writings to this effect: the thought lay deep beneath their institutions and whole public policy. It was expressed in their charters. It supplied a perpetual stimulus to their resolution, and made that resolution absolutely unconquerable, to expel the French from the western wilderness behind them, and is seen to have exalted the patriotic enthusiasm of such men as John Adams and Josiah Quincy, jr., in the opening struggles of the revolutionary controversy, suggesting to their ardent minds the most lofty views of the future fortunes of the country, which they had resolved to bear on their arms, at every peril, into the family of independent nations.

[1] Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The Constitution of the United States of America, that greatest production of associated human wisdom, the most beneficent plan ever contrived for the government of men, in bodies politic, affords, if we will but be true to it, the means by which gradually,—and far better would it be if it were left peaceably to be done,—the whole continent may be included within the protection and shelter of one empire of liberty and order. The organization of state governments, within certain convenient limits, for all local purposes of legislation and administration, and the union of them into one pervading government for purposes in which there is a general interest, is a plan which I most assuredly believe, will be found to work more favorably the wider the regions over which it is extended. As the system expands, territorial distance, and the want of prompt inter-communication between remote members of the confederacy, the only real difficulties that threatened to be insurmountable, are already greatly reduced and almost absolutely obliterated by recent achievements in science.

The American States have now continued in substantial union for seventy years. They went into the Revolutionary War, when occupying a narrow strip of the continent, along the Atlantic shore; they now stretch their legislative and executive organization to the Pacific. When their numbers were few, and the limits of the country itself were contracted, a disaffected section might entertain the project of withdrawing from the Union, but now its insignificance, if separated, is so palpable as to forbid the idea. For half a century, the question was discussed in newspapers, in periodicals, at college exhibitions, and in all private circles, whether extension of territory would not weaken the bonds of Union. It is high time to drop it forever. There is not a state, a county, a city, a town, a village, in the

nation, in which, if the popular sentiment were tested, allegiance to the Union would not be found prevalent and ineradicable.

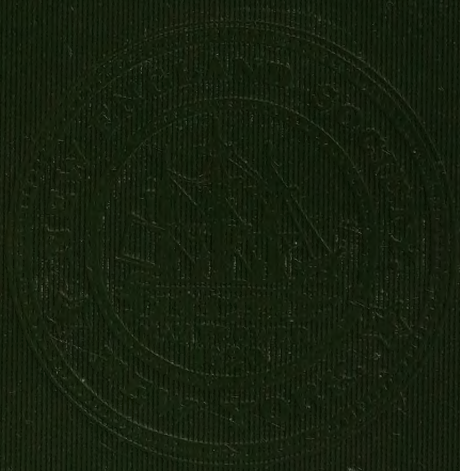
The only source, from which alienation to the Union is to be apprehended, is on the part of those persons who feel themselves implicated in objectionable institutions maintained and cherished in some of the States. A certain description of ignorant and insolent foreigners, not understanding our beautiful Federal system, are doing what they can to inflame this feeling. On this point, I wish, before I close, to draw a lesson of warning from an error of our fathers. They were deluded by this same idea. A confederation was a favorite object with them from the beginning. It was suggested naturally in the train of associations attached to their vision of a boundless empire of freedom and virtue. But they were prevented from developing it with efficacy by the apprehension that its members would be implicated in the peculiarities of each other. For this reason Rhode Island was excluded; and until the period of the Revolution the plan of a confederation was never made agreeable to all the colonies. If it had been otherwise—if leaving to each the care of its local concerns, from the beginning, the several colonies had sustained a confederated council, for the consideration and promotion of the general good, no human intelligence can calculate the effects upon the course of events. Perhaps, essential independence would have been secured, without bloodshed or any of the disastrous economical and moral effects of a long war.

But, however that might have been, we are living in the enjoyment of the benefits of a confederacy that preserves us from intestine war, and confers upon us untold blessings. Instead of wishing to go out from it because it includes conditions and institutions which we

do not fancy, let us rejoice that it opens wide its arms to gather into its peaceful fold, and under its remedial influences, all who seek admission. Instead of feeling scandalized because some States, in the exercise of their reserved sovereignty, enact barbarous laws, and cherish unrighteous institutions, if we appreciated all the salutary effects flowing from the Union, and kept clearly in our minds the principle on which it was founded, we should only regret that we cannot, at once, extend it over all, even the most ill-governed and benighted races of the earth. Without entering upon an enumeration of the beneficial influences of such a confederation upon all whom it includes, it answers my present purpose to observe that, in removing standing armies, fortified and garrisoned towns, the iniquities that mark the borders of contiguous and unfriendly nations, and all the curses that follow in the train of rival and warring states, we have multiplied incalculably the chances, and cleared away the chief obstructions to the progress of reform. Indeed the abolition of standing armies is the first step in the elevation of a people, and it must be taken before any real progress can be made. The permanent military organization of a large proportion of the population, separated from the ordinary avocations of life, is the last resort, and the strong defence, of modern despotism. It is the contrivance, by which kings turn the physical power of the people against the people themselves.

The relief from a standing army, we are enjoying in this country, is itself a blessing greater than was ever vouchsafed to a people before. To appreciate it fully one must travel in other countries. The military forces thought necessary to protect the frontiers of the Union, and preserve during peace, the basis, upon which, in the event of a foreign war, the strength of the nation might

be organized for belligerent purposes, are at this moment nearly all withdrawn from the country; but the frame of society throughout this great empire is found able to stand without their aid. In all the Northern States, and, indeed, over nearly the entire surface of the Republic, there are not at the present time, more troops, of the regular army, all told, than are permanently stationed in every third rate city of Europe. If there are persons among us, so outraged by the existence of an institution that holds in bondage a portion of the colored race in some quarters of the confederacy, as to countenance the idea of a separation of the States, let them consider that while such a result would not in all probability reduce the evil, upon which their thoughts have become so painfully concentrated, it would inevitably and instantly lead to the additional enslavement of thousands and tens of thousands of the white population, in the form of permanent standing armies, bristling along the borders of the multiplying fragments of the Union, and preying upon the resources, the morals and the liberties of all the rest.

My last exhortation to the sons of New England, then, is to BE FAITHFUL FOR EVER TO THE FEDERAL UNION. While they exercise, according to their several convictions, their political rights in opposing all partial and sectional legislation, resisting the extension, by the national authority, of anti-republican institutions, and discountenancing unrighteousness and injustice in the mode in which the government is administered, let them rejoice in the assurance that, over whatever extent of territory and from whatever motives of policy, the confederacy is spread, within its boundaries the arts of Peace, which are their arts, and were the arts of their fathers, will have an opportunity, such as has never been secured before, to prevail over all other

arts. If, impelled by the enterprise which marks their race, they follow with their traffic and ingenious industry the conquests of our armies, or open the way for cultivation and civilization to advance into the remotest regions of the west, or pursue their avocations in any quarter of the Union, however inconsistent with their views its peculiar institutions may be, if they carry their household gods with them, all others will gradually be converted to their principles, and imbued with their spirit. If the sons of New England rear the school-house and the church wherever they select their homes; if they preserve the reliance upon their own individual energies, the love of knowledge, the trust in Providence, the spirit of patriotic faith and hope, which made its most barren regions blossom and become fruitful around their fathers, then will the glorious vision of those fathers be realized, and the Continent rejoice, in all its latitudes and from sea to sea, in the blessings of freedom and education, of peace and prosperity, of virtue and religion.